The Good and Prosperous Successe OF THE PARLIAMENTS FORCES IN YORK-SHIRE:

Against the Earle of New-Castle And his Popish Adherents.

As it was sent in a Letter from the Right Honourable the Lord *Fairefax*, and read in both Houses of Parliament, on Monday, *Ian.* 30. 1642.

With some Observations of the Lords and Commons upon the said happy Proceedings, as so many Answers from Heaven, which God hath given to the Prayers of his Servants.

Published, that their Mouths and *Hearts* may be as much enlarged in Praises, as they have been in Prayers.

Die Lunæ, 30 Ian. 1642.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, that this Letter, with the Observations thereon, be forthwith Printed and Published. John Browne, Cler. Parliament.

Ian. 31. Printed for *John Wright* in the Old Bailey. 1642.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

The Lord Fairfax his Letter.

SIR,

IT is most necessary that I continue my Relation to you, of the state and condition of the affairs in this Country, that they may be made knowne to both Houses, and Provision made for succours to be sent us, which have hitherto come very slowly, though they have made large expressions of their care, we have beene long destitute of money to pay the Army, and to supply that want, I have used all possible industry, by taking up money upon Exchange, and by calling upon the Country to supply me for the present upon the publique Faith: The want of money doth so perplex that part of the Army here, as I imagine, the House will not expect any considerable matter to be done by us, though God be thanked the Forces I send from hence and are raysed by the Country with other places, are daily acting somethings to advance the publique service, as in the Northriding where Sir Hugh Cholmley hath carried himselfe very bravely, giving severall defeates to the Enemy nere Malton, and on monday the 16. of this moneth, joyning his Forces to Sir Mathew Boynton, they fell upon Colonell Slingsby at Gisbrowgh, where they defeated him and 600. Horse and Foot with him, that had done much spoyle in the Northriding, they wounded and tooke Colonell Slingsby himselfe, with 14 other Prisoners, kil'd a great many, and recovered

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

The Lord Fairfax his Letter.

SIR,

IT is moſt neceſſary that I continue my Relation to you, of the ſtate and condition of the affairs in this Country, that they may be made knowne to both Houſes, and Proviſion made for ſuccours to be ſent us, which have hitherto come very ſlowly, though they have made large expreſſions of their care, we have beene long deſtitute of money to pay the Army, and to ſupply that want, I have uſed all poſſible induſtry, by taking up money upon Exchange, and by calling upon the Country to ſupply me for the preſent upon the publique Faith: The want of money doth ſo perplex that part of the Army here, as I imagine, the Houſe will not expect any conſiderable matter to be done by us, though God be thanked the Forces I ſend from hence and are rayſed by the Country with other places, are daily acting ſomething to advance the publique ſervice, as in the Northriding where Sir Hugh Cholmley hath carried himſelfe very bravely, giving ſeverall defeates to the Enemy nere Malton, and on monday the 16. of this moneth, joyning his Forces to Sir Mathew Boynton, they fell upon Colonell Slingsby at Gisbrowgh, where they defeated him and 600. Horſe and Foot with him, that had done much ſpoyle in the Northriding, they wounded and tooke Colonell Slingsby himſelfe, with 140. other Priſoners, kil'd a great many, and recovered

 Armes with the place; amongst the Prisoners taken by Sir Hugh Cholmley at Malton, and here at Gisbrough, it is found that a great number are Papists, and indeed the strength of the Enemies will be found to consist much of Papists & Popish affected, the Earle of New-castle, granting his Commissions for rayling men to Papists for the most part. I have heard of late of Commissions granted to twelve Recusants of these parts, whose names I send enclosed, & it is not to be doubted he walkes the same wayes in other places as well as here, which courses have so advanced Papery as I heare, that in Yorke where many Recusants are setled, Masse is ordinarily saydin every street, and such affronts offered to the Protestants and their Ministery, as few dare resort to Church, and in other parts of the Country I am informed, that for many miles together the religious Ministery, are all either fled or imprisoned: which persecutions, if they be not timely repressed, will extirpe or much depresse the Protestant Religion in these parts, about Bradford and Hallifax, God hath blessed my Son and those small Forces with good successe against the Enemy in several light skirmishes, and on monday was seven night, he seized on the Lord Saviles house at Howley, and put about 100. Musquetiers into it, and on tuesday I sent Sir William Fairfax and his Officers with some armes, to raise his Regiment in those parts, and for his convoy I sent what horse and Dragoners I could spare from hence, directing them to stay with my Son to assist him in his designe against Leeds, and yesternight I received Letters from him, wherein he relates to me, that on monday last he drew his forces out of Bradford, and marched to Leeds, where Sir William Savill comman-

ded

ded in chiefe, my Son first summoned them by a Trumpet to yeeld, which being refused, the Assault began, wherein his men carryed themselves with great Resolution, the Towne being fortified on all sides, furnished with two Malle Sakers, and manned with 1500. Souldiers, yet they forced an Entry in two houres fight, there being not lost on both sides above 40. men, but he tooke 4. colours, 500. Prisoners (of which 6 are Commanders) and with the Prisoners they tooke many Armes, the Sakers and all the Munition they had, which was not much; On our part we lost 13. men, and Capt. Briggs, and Capt. Lee, both sore wounded, and I perceive that in this exploit Sir William Fairfax, Sir Thomas Norcliffe, and Serjeant major Forbes, with the rest of the Commanders carryed themselves very gallantly, the people doe observe that Sir William Savill, and the chiefe Commanders, on the other side some after the fight began, fled by secret waies towards Pontfret, and their men after them by degrees, but by the way Serjeant major Beamont was drowned crossing the River, and Sir William Savill very narrowly escaped the like fate. After Leeds was thus won, my Son writes that hee intended to have marched to Wakefield, where Sir George Wentworth commanded, but was prevented therin by the enemies fears, who hearing he had taken Leeds, fled all away from Wakefield to Pontefract, and left the Towne, so he hath sent some Forces to invest and keepe that place: Thus hath God blessed their endeavours on that side, and now I am told that Capt. Hotham and Sir John Savill, are gone up yesterday with some Forces into these parts, but upon what designe I know not, yesterday morning I had some intelligence, that the most part of the Forces were mar-

ched the day before out of Doncaster, so I have sent my Serjeant major Generall with six companies of foot to invest that place, and to leave some forces to keepe it until more strength come to us, out of the Southerne Counties, which if they could be hastened hither might very much advance the cause, & crush their Popish forces before they be supplyed by the Queens comming, or their party in Scotland, of which ther is soe expectation, I desire you wil make known to the house the great extremities that are put upon me, & that a certain course may be setled for supplying us with Money for the entertainment of the army, in such season, as our men may be encouraged in the service, and not fall into a way of plundering for want of pay, my Sonne upon the taking of Leeds, though he entered it by force, yet he restrayned his Army from pillaging, so I have ordered that the Malignants in lieu of the spoyle, chalenged to be due unto the Soldiers, shall give them a Money his entertainement, which I hope will content both Parties, yesternight Intelligence was brought to me, that the Earle of New-Castle hath drawne downe all his forces from the South-Parts of York-shire, those onely excepted that keepe the Castle at Pomfret, for yesterday he marched from Sherborne, to Yorke, with 36 Colours, 2 Pieces of of Canon, and 43 other cattriages, the certaine cause I doe not yet know, but suppose it is to meet the Armes and Munition comming from New-Castle, or to prepare for the Queenes Entertainement at Yorke, which is much spoken of, I shall carry a vigilant eye upon his designes, and endeavour to prevent them, so farre as can bee expected from the forces under the command of

Selby, 26. Ian. 1642.

Sir, Your most affectionate Friend and servant

Fer. Fairefax.

1

I have sent unto Master White *to be shewed unto you three papers found with Col. nell* Slingsby *when he was taken at* Gisbrough *by Sir* Hugh Cholmely *which may peradventure be thought necessary to be made knowne to the House, if Sir* Hugh *have not already presented the transcripts to you.*

The Names of Recusants in these parts, to whom the Earle of New Castle hath granted Commissions to raise Forces.

M. Robert Traps.
M. Stevenson of *Thornton.*
S. John Middleton.
S. Walter Vavasor.
M. Andes.
M. Tindall.
M. Britton.
S. Philip Hungate.
M. Waterson.
M. Thwenge.
Capt. Sare.
Capt. Granger.

Besides those formerly printed by Order of this House, and many more which are omitted.

The Observations of both Houses of Parliament, upon the aforesaid Letters.

WHereas many and fervent prayers have beene sent upto God for his blessings to be powred downe upon the Endeavours of the Parliament in maintenance of his owne Cause, and Religion, now openly assaulted by Papists, and because it is most just and necessary to observe the returne of these Prayers, that our mouths and hearts may be as much enlarged in prayses, as they have beene in Prayers. The Lords and

Commons

Commons have thought fit to publish some late good successes, as so many answers from Heaven which God hath given to the Prayers of his servants.

And whereas sundry late Declarations have shewed to the world divers Informations and proofs concerning the raysing of a Popish Army with an intention to subvert Gods true Religion professed and by Law established in this Kingdome and to introduce popish Idollatry, and Superstition, that it may appeare that what was before an intention is now matter of fact, and really put in Execution, a most certaine and true Relation is here offered to publique notice and observation wherein it may be seene that this Popish Army hath set up the open practise of their abhominable Idolatry in *Yorke* the second City of this Kingdome, and are grown to that height of Insolence that they terrifie and drive away Protestant Ministers and people from frequenting their owne Churches and from the practise of their own Religion, wherein they have given a patterne and pledge what they intend to doe, and what must be expected from them through the whole Kingdome, the consideration hereof (whereby the most pretious things in the world, Gods Glory and true worship, and the salvation and soules of men are brought into danger) ought to excite and stir up (and we are confident it will) the strongest endeavours and most united coniunctions of all Religions, and well affected Protestants and Patriots, to resist and suppresse these common Enemies of God, Piety their Country and common-Wealth, for now it plainly appeares that how ever they pretend to defend the authority and the Lawes, yet their maine intention is to Establish Popery in this Kingdome, and to exstirpate the Protestant Religion which cannot be done without subuersion of the Lawes, as the Papists have almost effected in *Ireland*.

FINIS.

k NEVV 2.

ENGLANDS FIRST FRUITS;

IN RESPECT,

First of the { Conversion of some, Conviction of divers, Preparation of sundry } of the *Indians*.

2. Of the progresse of *Learning*, in the *Colledge* at CAMBRIDGE in *Massachusets* Bay.

WITH

Divers other speciall Matters concerning that *Country*.

Published by the instant request of sundry Friends, who desire to be satisfied in these points by many *New-England* Men who are here present, and were eye or eare-witnesses of the same.

Who hath despised the Day of small things. Zach. 4. 10.

If thou wert pure and upright, surely now he will awake for thee: ... And though thy beginnings be small, thy latter end shall greatly encrease. Iob. 8 6,7.

Jan: 31. 1642 LONDON,

Printed by R. O. and G. D. for *Henry Overton*, and are to be sold at his Shop in *Popes-head-Alley*. 1643.

NEW ENGLANDS FIRST FRUITS:

1. In respect of the INDIANS, &c.

THE Lord, who useth not to be wanting to the desires of his Servants, as he hath not frustrated the ends of our Transplanting in sundry other respects; so neither in the giving some light to those poore *Indians*, who have ever sate in hellish darknesse, adoring the *Divell* himselfe for their *GOD:* but hath given us some testimony of his gracious acceptance of our poore endeavours towards them, and of our groanes to himselfe for mercy upon those miserable Soules (the very Ruines of Mankind) there amongst us; our very bowels yerning within us to see them goe downe to Hell by swarmes without remedy.

Wherefore we judged it our duty no longer to conceale, but to declare (to the praise of his owe free grace) what *first Fruits* he hath begun to gather in amongst them, as a sure pledge (we are confident) of a greater *Harvest* in his owne time. And wonder not that wee mention no more instances at present: but consider, First their infinite distance from Christianity, having never been prepared thereunto by any Civility at all. Secondly, the difficulty of their Language to us, and of ours to them; there being no Rules to learne either by. Thirdly, the diversity of their owne Language to it selfe;

every part of that Countrey having its own Dialect, differing much from the other; all which make their comming into the Gospel the more slow. But what God hath done for some of them, we will declare.

---

1. MAny years since at *Plimmouth* Plantation, when the Church did fast and pray for Raine in extreame Drought; it being a very hot and cleare sun-shine day, all the former part thereof; An *Indian* of good quality, being present, and seeing what they were about, fell a wondring at them for praying for raine in a day so unlikely, when all Sunne and no Clouds appeared; and thought that their God was not able to give Raine at such a time as that: but this poore wretch seeing them still to continue in their Prayers, and beholding that at last the Clouds began to rise, and by that time they had ended their Duty, the Raine fell in a most sweet, constant, soaking showre, fell into wonderment at the power that the English had with their God, and the greatnesse and goodnesse of that God whom they served, and was smitten with terror that he had abused them and their God by his former hard thoughts of them; and resolved from that day not to rest till he did know this great good *God*, and for that end to forsake the *Indians*, and cleave to the English, which he presently did, and laboured by all publique and private meanes to suck in more and more of the knowledge of God, and his wayes. And as he increased in knowledge so in affection, and also in his practice, reforming and conforming himselfe accordingly: and (though he was much tempted by inticements, scoffes and scornes from the *Indians*) yet, could he never be gotten from the *English*, nor from seeking after their God, but died amongst them, leaving some good hopes in their hearts, that his soule went to rest.

2. *Sagamore Iohn*, Prince of *Massaquesets*, was from our very first landing more courteous, ingenious, and to the English more loving then others of them; he desired to learne and speake our Language, and loved to imitate us in our behaviour and apparrell, and began to hearken after our God and his wayes, and would much commend English-men, and their God; saying (*Much good men, much good God*) and being convinced that our condition and wayes were better farre then theirs, did resolve and promise to leave the *Indians*, and come live with us; but yet kept downe by feare of the scoffes of the *Indians*, had not power to make good his purpose; yet went on not without

out

out ſome trouble of mind, and ſecret plucks of Conſcience, as the ſequel declares: for being ſtruck with death, fearfully cryed out of himſelfe, that he had not come to live with us, to have knowne our „ God better: *But now* (ſaid he) *I muſt die, the God of the Engliſh is* „ *much angry with me, and will deſtroy me; ah, I was affraid of the ſcoffes of* „ *theſe wicked* Indians; *yet my Child ſhall live with the* Engliſh, *and learne* „ *to know their God when I am dead; Ile give him to Mr.* Wilſon, *he is a* „ *much Good man, and much loved me*: ſo ſent for Mr. *Wilſon* to come to him, and committed his onely Child to his care, and ſo died.

3. Divers of the *Indians* Children, Boyes and Girles we have received into our houſes, who are long ſince civilized, and in ſubjection to us, painfull and handy in their buſineſſe, and can ſpeak our language familiarly; divers of whom can read Engliſh, and begin to underſtand in their meaſure, the grounds of Chriſtian Religion; ſome of them are able to give us account of the Sermons they heare, and of the word read and expounded in our Families, and are convinced of their ſinfull and miſerable Eſtates, and affected with the ſenſe of Gods diſpleaſure, and the thoughts of Eternity, and will ſometimes tremble and melt into teares at our opening and preſſing the Word upon their Conſciences; and as farre as we can diſcerne, ſome of them uſe to pray in ſecret, and are much in love with us, and cannot indure to returne any more to the *Indians*.

Some of them will not be abſent from a Sermon or Family duties if they can help it; and we have knowne ſome would uſe to weep and cry when detained by occaſion from the Sermon.

Others of them are very inquiſitive after God and his wayes; and being themſelves induſtrious in their Calling, will much complaine of other ſervants idleneſſe, and reprove them.

One of them, who for ſome miſdemeanour that laid him open to publique puniſhment, ran away; and being gone, God ſo followed him, that of his owne accord he returned home, rendred himſelfe to Juſtice, and was willing to ſubmit himſelfe, though he might have eſcaped.

An *Indian* Maid at *Salem*, would often come from the Word, crying out with abundance of teares, concluding that ſhe muſt burne when ſhe die, and would ſay, ſhe knew her ſelfe naught for preſent, and like to be miſerable for ever, unleſſe free Grace ſhould prevent it; and after this grew very carefull of her carriage, proved induſtrious in her place, and ſo continued.

Another

Another often frequenting the Houſe of one of the Miniſters at *Salem*, would tell him the Story of the Bible, even to his admiration, and that he attended upon the Word preached, and loved it; and how he could tell all the Commandements, and in particular each Commandement by it ſelfe, and how he laboured to keep them all; and yet for all this (ſaid he) [*Me die, and walke in fire*] that is, when I die, I muſt to Hell: That Miniſter asked him why? he anſwered, becauſe I know not *Ieſus Chriſt*, and pray'd him earneſtly to teach him *Ieſus Chriſt*, and after went out amongſt the *Indians*, and called upon them to put away all their wives ſave one, becauſe it was a ſinne againſt Engliſh-mans Saviour.

Another *Indian* comming by, and ſeeing one of the Engliſh (who was remote from our juriſdiction) prophaning the Lords day, by felling of a tree, ſaid to him, „ *Doe you not know that this is the Lords day, in Maſſaquſetts? much machet man*, that is *very wicked man, what, breake you Gods Day?*

The ſame man comming into an houſe in thoſe parts where a man and his wife were chiding, and they bidding him ſit downe, he was welcome; he anſwered, „ *He would not ſtay there, God did not dwell there, Hoppamock*, (that is *the Devill*) *was there*, and ſo departed.

One of the *Sagamores*, having complaint made to him by ſome of the Engliſh, that his men did uſe to kill Pigeons upon the Lords day, thereupon forbad them to doe ſo any more; yet afterwards ſome of them did attempt it, and climbing the high trees (upon which Pigeons in that Countrey uſe to make their neſts) one of them fell down from off the tree and brake his neck, and another fell down and brake ſome of his limbs: thereupon the *Sagamore* ſent two grave old men to proclaime it amongſt his *Indians*, that none of them ſhould kill Pigeons upon the Sabboth day any more.

Another *Indian* hearing of the fame of the *Engliſh*, and their God came from a far to ſee them, and ſuch was this mans love to the *Engliſh* and their wayes after he came acquainted with them, that he laboured to transform himſelfe into the *Engliſh* manners and practiſes, as if he had been an Engliſh man indeed; he would be called no more by his *Indian* name, but would be named *William*; he would not goe naked like the *Indians*, but cloathed juſt as one of our ſelves; he abhorred to dwell with the *Indians* any longer; but forſaking all his friends and Kindred dwelt wholly with us; when he ſate downe to meat with us, if thanks were given before he came in, or if he did eat

by

by himſelfe, conſtantly he would give thanks reverently and gravely, he frequented the word and family duties where he came, and gat a good meaſure of knowledge beyond ordinary, being a man of ſingular parts, and would complaine that he knew not Chriſt, and without him, he ſaid all he did was nothing; hee was ſo zealous for the Lords day, that (as it was obſerved) if he ſaw any profaning it, he would rebuke them, and threaten them to carry them to the Governour.

All which things weighed, we dare not but hope, that many of them, doe belong to the Kingdome of God; and what further time may produce, we leave it to him that is excellent in Counſell, and wonderfull in working.

4. There is alſo a Blackmore maid, that hath long lived at *Dorcheſter* in *New England*, unto whom God hath ſo bleſſed the publique and private meanes of Grace, that ſhe is not only indued with a competent meaſure of knowledge in the myſteries of God, and conviction of her miſerable eſtate by ſinne; but hath alſo experience of a ſaving work of grace in her heart, and a ſweet ſavour of Chriſt breathing in her; inſomuch that her ſoule hath longed to enjoy Church-fellowſhip with the Saints there, and having propounded her deſire to the Elders of the Church, after ſome triall of her taken in private, ſhe was called before the whole Church, and there did make confeſſion of her knowledge in the Myſteries of Chriſt and of the work of Converſion upon her Soule: And after that there was ſuch a teſtimony given of her blameleſſe and godly Converſation, that ſhe was admitted a member by the joynt conſent of the Church, with great joy to all their hearts. Since which time, we have heard her much admiring Gods free grace to ſuch a poore wretch as ſhe was; that God leaving all her friends and Kindred ſtill in their ſinnes, ſhould caſt an eye upon her, to make her a member of Chriſt, and of the Church alſo: and hath with teares exhorted ſome other of the *Indians* that live with us to embrace *Jeſus Chriſt*, declaring how willing he would be to receive them, even as he had received her.

5. The laſt inſtance we will give, ſhall be of that famous Indian *Wequaſh*, who was a Captaine, a proper man of perſon, and of a very grave and ſober ſpirit; the Story of which comming to our hands very lately, was indeed the occaſion of writing all the reſt: This man, a few yeares ſince, ſeeing and beholding the mighty power of God in our Engliſh Forces, how they fell upon the *Pequts*, where divers

divers hundreds of them were ſlaine in an houre: The Lord, as a God of glory in great terrour did appeare unto the Soule and Conſcience of this poore Wretch, in that very act; and though before that time he had low apprehenſions of our God, having conceived him to be (as he ſaid) but a *Muskette* God, or a God like unto a flye; and as meane thoughts of the Engliſh that ſerved this God, that they were ſilly weake men; yet from that time he was convinced and perſwaded that our God was a moſt dreadfull God; and that one *Engliſh* man by the help of his God was able to ſlay and put to flight an hundred *Indians*.

This conviction did purſue and follow him night and day, ſo that he could have no reſt or quiet becauſe hee was ignorant of the *Engliſh mans God*: he went up and down bemoaning his condition, and filling every place where he came with ſighes and groanes.

Afterward it pleaſed the Lord that ſome *Engliſh* (well acquainted with his Language) did meet with him; thereupon as a Hart panting after the water Brookes, he enquired after God with ſuch inceſſant diligence that they were conſtrained conſtantly for his ſatisfaction to ſpend more then halfe the night in converſing with him.

Afterwards he came to dwell amongſt the Engliſh at *Connecticut*, ſtill travelling with all his might and lamenting after the Lord: his manner was to ſmite his hand on his breaſt, and to complaine ſadly of his heart, ſaying it was *much machet*, (that is very evill) and when any ſpake with him, he would ſay, *Wequaſh, no God, Wequaſh no know Chriſt*. It pleaſed the Lord, that in the uſe of the meanes, he grew greatly in the knowledge of Chriſt, and in the Principles of Religion, and became thorowly reformed according to his light, hating and loathing himſelfe for his deareſt ſinnes, which were eſpecially theſe two *Luſt* and *Revenge*, this repentance for the former was teſtified by his temperance and abſtinence from all occaſions, or matter of provocation thereunto. Secondly, by putting away all his Wives, ſaving the firſt, to whom he had moſt right.

His repentance for the latter was teſtified by an eminent degree of meekneſſe and patience, that now, if any did abuſe him, he could lie downe at their feet, and if any did ſmite him on the one cheeke, he would rather turne the other, than offend them: many trialls hee had from the *Indians* in this caſe. Thirdly, by going up and downe to thoſe hee had offered violence or wrong unto, confeſſing it, and making reſtitution.

Afterwards

Afterwards he went amongſt the Indians, like that poore Woman of *Samaria*, proclaiming *Chriſt*, and telling them what a Treaſure he had found, inſtructing them in the knowledge of the true *God* and this he did with a grave and ſerious ſpirit, warning them with all faithfullneſſe to flee from the wrath to come, by breaking off their ſinnes and wickedneſſe.

This courſe of his did ſo diſturb the Devill, that ere long ſome of the Indians, whoſe hearts Satan had filled did ſecretly give him poyſon, which he tooke without ſuſpition: and when he lay upon his death bed, ſome Indians who were by him, wiſhed him according to the Indian manner, to ſend for *Powow* (that is to ſay) a Wizzard; he told them, *If Ieſus Chriſt ſay that Wequaſh ſhall live, then Wequaſh muſt live; if Ieſus Chriſt ſay that Wequaſh ſhall dye, then Wequaſh is willing to dye, and will not lengthen out his life by any ſuch meanes.* Before he dyed, he did bequeath his Child to the godly care of the Engliſh for education and inſtruction and ſo yielded up his ſoule into *Chriſt* his hands.

I cannot omit the teſtimony of Mr. *Sh* a godly Miniſter in the *Bay*, that wrote to his Friend in *London* concerning this Story, his lines are full plain and pithy his words theſe,

Wequaſh the famous Indian at the Rivers mouth is dead, and certainly in heaven; gloriouſly did the Grace of Chriſt *ſhine forth in his converſation, a yeare and a halfe before his death he knew Chriſt, he loved Chriſt, he preached Chriſt up and down, and then ſuffered Martyrdome for Chriſt; and when he dyed, he gave his ſoule to Chriſt, and his only child to the Engliſh, rejoycing in this hope, that the child ſhould know more of Chriſt then its poore Father ever did.*

Thus we have given you a little taſt of the ſprincklings of Gods ſpirit, upon a few Indians, but one may eaſily imagine, that here are not all that may be produced: for if a very few of us here preſent, upon very ſudden thoughts, have ſnatcht up only ſuch inſtances which came at preſent to hand, you may conceive, that if all in our Plantations (which are farre and wide, ſhould ſet themſelves to bring in the confluence of all their Obſervations together, much more might be added

We beleeve one mean amongſt others, that hath thus farre wonne theſe poore wretches to looke after the Goſpell, hath been the dealings and carriages, which God hath guided the Engliſh in our Patent, to exerciſe towards them: For,

1. At our entrance upon the Land, it was not with violence and intruſion, but free and faire, with their conſents and allowance the chief Sagamores of all that part of the Countrey, entertainmg us heartily, and profeſſed we were all much welcome.

2. When any of them had poſſeſſion of, or right unto any Land we were to plant upon, none were ſuffered, (to our knowledge) to take one acre from them, but do uſe to compound with them to content.

3. They have had juſtice truly exerciſed towards them in all other particular acts; that as we expect right dealing from them, in caſe any of them ſhall treſpaſſe us, we ſend to their Sagamore, and he preſently rights us, or elſe we ſummon them to our Court to anſwer it; ſo if any of our men offend them, and complaint and proofe be made to any of our Magiſtrates, or the publique Court (they know) they are ſure to be righted to the utmoſt by us.

4. The humanity of the Engliſh towards them doth much gaine upon them, we being generally wary, and tender in giving them offenſive or harſh language, or carriage, but uſe them fairly and courteouſly, with loving termes, good looks and kind ſalutes.

Thus they having firſt a good eſteem of our Perſons, (ſuch of them as God intends good unto) are the ſooner brought to hearken to our words, and then to ſerve our God: wheras on the contrary, the wicked, injurious and ſcandalous carriages of ſome other Plantations, have bin a mean to harden thoſe poore wofull ſoules againſt the Engliſh, and all Religion for their ſakes; and ſeale them up under perdition.

Yet (miſtake us not) we are wont to keep them at ſuch a diſtance, (knowing they ſerve the Devill and are led by him) as not to imbolden them too much, or truſt them too farre; though we do them what good we can. And the truth is, God hath ſo kept them, (excepting that act of the Pequits, long ſince, to ſome few of our men) that we never found any hurt from them, nor could ever prove any reall intentions of evill againſt us: And if there ſhould be ſuch intentions and that they all ſhould combine together againſt us with all their ſtrength that they can raiſe, we ſee no probable ground at all to feare any hurt from them, they being naked men, and the number of them that be amongſt us not conſiderable.

Let us here give a touch alſo of what God hath done and is further about to doe, to divers Plantations of the Engliſh, which before that time

time that God ſent light into our coaſts, were almoſt as darke and rude as the Indians themſelves.

1. Firſt at *Agamenticus* (a Plantation out of our juriſdiction) to which one of our Preachers comming and labouring amongſt them, was a meanes under God, not only to ſparkle heavenly knowledge, and worke conviction and reformation in divers of them, but converſion alſo to Chriſt in ſome of them, that bleſſe God to this day, that ever he came thither.

2. Then after that, at *Sanco* Plantation, which is an hundred miles from us, divers of that place comming often into our coaſts and hearing the Word preached, and ſeeing Gods goings amongſt us people there, being much affected went home, and lamented amongſt their neighbours their own wofull condition, that lived like heathens without the Goſpel, when others injoyed it in great plenty: hereupon with joynt conſent two of their chiefe men were ſent in all their names, earneſtly to intreat us to ſend a godly Miniſter to preach the Word unto them; which was doe accordingly, not without good ſucceſſe to the people there, and divers places about them.

3. After this, towards the end of laſt Summer, foure more Plantations ſome of which are divers hundred miles, others of them many hundred leagues from our Plantation) hearing of the goodneſſe of God to his people in our parts, and of the light of the Goſpel there ſhining; have done even as *Jacob* did in the Famine time, when he heard there was bread in *Egypt* he haſted away his Sonnes for Corn, that they might live and not die: in like manner three ſeverall Towns in *Virginia*, as alſo *Barbados*, *Chriſtophers*, and *Antego*, all of them much about the ſame time, as if they had known the minds of each other did ſend Letters and Meſſengers, crying out unto us as the man of *Macedonia* to *Paul*, *Come and help us* and that with ſuch earneſtneſſe, as men hunger-ſtarved and ready to die cry for bread; ſo they cry out unto us in the bowels of compaſſion for the Lord Jeſus ſake to ſend them ſome helpe. They tell us in ſome of their Letters that from the one end of the Land to the other, there is none to break the *bread* of *life* unto the *hungry*; and thoſe that ſhould doe it, are ſo vile, that even drunkards and ſwearers, cry ſhame on them.

We had thought (but only for the ſwelling of our Diſcourſe) to have ſet down their Letters at large, which they wrote to all our Churches, which ſpake with ſuch ſtrength of reaſon and affection, that when they were read in our Congregations, they prevailed with

us that for their neceſsity we ſpared the bread from our own mouths to ſave their lives, and ſent two of our Miniſters for the preſent to *Virginia*; and when the Ships came away from them they left them in ſerious conſultation, whom to give up to the worke of Chriſt in the other three places alſo.

We heare moreover that the Indians themſelves in ſome of the places named did joyne with them in this their ſuit.

Now from what hath bin ſaid, ſee the riches of Gods free Grace in Chriſt, that is willing to impart mercy even to the worſt of men, and ſuch as are furtheſt off: cry out with *Paul, Oh the depths, &c.* and let heaven and earth be filled with the glorious praiſes of God for the ſame.

And if ſuch as are afarre off, why ſhould not we that are nearer preſſe in for a ſhare therin, and cry out, as *Eſau* did with teares to his Father, when he ſaw the bleſſing going away to his younger brother, and himſelfe like to loſe it: [*Oh my Father haſt thou but one bleſſing, bleſſe me alſo, even me thy firſt borne, bleſſe me, oh my Father.*] Elſe theſe poore Indians will certainly riſe up againſt us, and with great boldneſſe condemn us in the great day of our accompts, when many of us here under great light, ſhall ſee men come from the Eaſt and from the Weſt, and ſit down in the Kingdome of God, and our ſelves caſt out.

2. Let the world know, that God led not ſo many thouſands of his people into the Wilderneſſe, to ſee a reed ſhaken with the wind, but amongſt many other ſpeciall ends, this was none of the leaſt, to ſpread the light of his bleſſed Goſpel, to ſuch as never heard the ſound of it. To ſtop the mouths of the profane that calumniate the work of God in our hands, and to ſatisfie the hearts of the Saints herin that God had ſome ſpeciall ſervice for his people there to doe, which in part already we begin to ſee, and wait upon *Divine Wiſdome*, to diſcover more of his pleaſure herin, and upon his Grace to effect, which we beleeve in his time he will ſo doe, that men ſhall ſee and know the wiſdome and power of God herin.

3. Shall we touch here upon that apprehenſion which many godly and wiſe have conceived, and that from ſome Scriptures compared, and from other grounds, and paſſages of Providence collected that (as it's very probable) God meanes to carry his Goſpel weſtward, in theſe latter times of the world; and have thought, as the Sunne in the afternoon of the day, ſtill declines more and more to the

the West and then sets: so the Gospel (that great light of the world) though it rose in the East, and in former ages, hath lightened it with his beames; yet in the latter ages of the world will bend Westward, and before its setting, brighten these parts, with his glorious lustre also.

4. See how Gods wisdome produceth glorious effects, from unlikely meanes, and make streight works by crooked instruments: for who would have thought, that the chasing away hence so many godly Ministers, should so farre have promoted the praises of God, and should be a meane to spread the Gospel, when they intended to ruine it: they blew out their lights and they burn clearer: their silencing Ministers have opened their mouths so wide as to sound out his glorious praises, to the uttermost parts of the earth. say with the Psalmist, *This is the Lords doing and it is marvelous in our eyes.*

5. Despise not the day of small things; let none say of us as those scoffers did of their building *Jerusalem, what will these weak Jewes do?* but learne to adore God in all his Providence, and wait to see his ends.

6. Lend us, we beseech you (all you that love *Zion*) your prayers and helpe in heaven and earth for the furtherance of this great and glorious worke in our hands; great works need many hands, many prayers, many teares: And desire the Lord to stirre up the bowels of some godly minded, to pitty those poore Heathen that are bleeding to death to eternall death and to reach forth an hand of soule-mercy, to save some of them from the fire of hell by affording some means to maintain some fit instruments on purpose to spend their time, and give themselves wholly to preach to these poore wretches. that as the tender *Samaritan* did to the wounded man, they may pitty them, and get them healed, that even their bowels may blesse them in the day of their visitation, and Christs bowels refreshed by their love, may set it on his own score, and pay them all againe in the day of their accompts.

NEW ENGLANDS FIRST FRUITS:

2. In reſpect of the Colledge, and the proceedings of *Learning* therein.

1. AFter God had carried us ſafe to *New-England*, and wee had builded our houſes, provided neceſſaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worſhip, and ſetled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance *Learning* and perpetuate it to Poſterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Miniſtery to the Churches, when our preſent Miniſters ſhall lie in the Duſt. And as wee were thinking and conſulting how to effect this great Work; it pleaſed God to ſtir up the heart of one Mr. *Harvard* (a godly Gentleman, and a lover of Learning, there living amongſt us) to give the one halfe of his Eſtate (it being in all about 1700. l.) towards the erecting of a Colledge, and all his Library: after him another gave 300. l. others after them caſt in more; and the publique hand of the State added the reſt: the Colledge was, by common conſent, appointed to be at *Cambridge*, (a place very pleaſant and accommodate; and is called (according to the name of the firſt founder) *Harvard Colledge*.

The Edifice is very faire and comely within and without, having in it a ſpacious Hall; (where they daily meet at Common Lectures) Exerciſes, and a large Library with ſome Bookes to it, the gifts of diverſe

diverſe of our friends, their Chambers and ſtudies alſo fitted for, and poſſeſſed by the Students, and all other roomes of Office neceſſary and convenient, with all needfull Offices thereto belonging: And by the ſide of the Colledge a faire *Grammar* Schoole for the training up of young Schollars, and fitting of them for *Academicall Learning*, that ſtill as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this Schoole: Maſter *Corlet* is the Mr. who hath very well approved himſelfe for his abilities dexterity and painfulneſſe in teaching and education of the youth under him.

Over the Colledge is maſter *Dunſter* placed, as Preſident, a learned conſcionable and induſtrious man, who hath ſo trained up his Pupills in the tongues and Arts, and ſo ſeaſoned them with the principles of Divinity and Chriſtianity that we have to our great comfort, (and in truth) beyond our hopes, beheld their progreſſe in Learning and godlineſſe alſo; the former of theſe hath appeared in their publique declamations in *Latine* and *Greeke*, and Diſputations Logicall and Philoſophicall, which they have beene wonted (beſides their ordinary Exerciſes in the Colledge-Hall) in the audience of the Magiſtrates, Miniſters, and other Schollars, for the probation of their growth in Learning, upon ſet dayes, conſtantly once every moneth to make and uphold: The latter hath been manifeſted in ſundry of them, by the ſavoury breathings of their Spirits in their godly converſation. Inſomuch that we are confident, if theſe early bloſſomes may be cheriſhed and warmed with the influence of the friends of Learning, and lovers of this pious worke, they will by the help of God, come to happy maturity in a ſhort time.

Over the Colledge are twelve Overſeers choſen by the generall Court, ſix of them are of the Magiſtrates, the other ſix of the Miniſters, who are to promote the beſt good of it, and (having a power of influence into all perſons in it) are to ſee that every one be diligent and proficient in his proper place.

2. *Rules, and Precepts that are obſerv'd in the Colledge.*

1. WHen any Schollar is able to underſtand *Tully*, or ſuch like clasſicall Latine Author *extempore*, and make and ſpeake true Latine in Verſe and Proſe, *ſuo ut aiunt Marte*; And decline perfectly the Paradigm's of *Nounes* and *Verbes* in the *Greek* tongue: Let him then and not before be capable of admiſſion into the Colledge.

2. Let

2. Let every Student be plainly inſtructed, and earneſtly preſſed to conſider well, the maine end of his life and ſtudies is, *to know God and Jeſus Chriſt which is eternall life*, Joh. 17. 3. and therefore to lay *Chriſt* in the bottome, as the only foundation of all ſound knowledge and Learning.

And ſeeing the Lord only giveth wiſedome, Let every one ſeriouſly ſet himſelfe by prayer in ſecret to ſeeke it of him *Prov* 2.3.

3. Every one ſhall ſo exercite himſelfe in reading the Scriptures twice a day, that he ſhall be ready to give ſuch an account of his proficiency therein, both in *Theoreticall* obſervations of the Language, and *Logicke*, and in *Practicall* and ſpirituall truths, as his Tutor ſhall require, according to his ability, ſeeing *the entrance of thy word giveth light, it giveth underſtanding unto ſimple*, Pſalm. 119. 130.

4 That they eſchewing all profanation of Gods Name, Attributes, Word, Ordinances and times of Worſhip, doe ſtudie with good conſcience, carefully to retaine God and the love of his truth in their mindes eſpecially them know, that (nothwithſtanding their Learning) God may give them up *to ſtrong delaſions*, and in the end *to a reprobate minde*. 2 Theſ. 2.11, 12. Rom. 1. 28.

5. That they ſtudiouſly redeeme the time; obſerve the generall houres appointed for all the Students, and the ſpeciall houres for their owne *Claſſis*: and then diligently attend the Lectures without any diſturbance by word or geſture. And if in any thing they doubt, they ſhall enquire as of their fellowes, ſo, (in caſe of *non ſatisfaction*) modeſtly of their Tutors.

6. None ſhall under any pretence whatſoever, frequent the company and ſociety of ſuch men as lead an unfit, and diſſolute life.

Nor ſhall any without his Tutors leave, or (in his abſence) the call of Parents or Guardians, goe abroad to other Townes.

7 Every Schollar ſhall be preſent in his Tutors chamber at the 7th. houre in the morning, immediately after the ſound of the Bell at his opening the Scripture and prayer, ſo alſo at the 5th. houre at night, and then give account of his owne private reading, as aforeſaid in Particular the third, and conſtantly attend Lectures in the Hall at the houres appointed? But if any (without neceſſary impediment) ſhall abſent himſelf from prayer or Lectures, he ſhall be lyable to Admonition, if he offend above once a weeke.

8. If any Schollar ſhall be found to tranſgreſſe any of the Lawes of God, or the Schoole, after twice Admonition, he ſhall be lyable,

if

if not *adultus*, to correction, if *adultus*, his name shall be given up to the Overseers of the Colledge, that he may bee admonished at the publick monethly Act.

3. *The times and order of their Studies, unlesse experience shall shew cause to alter.*

THe second and third day of the weeke, read Lectures, as followeth.

To the first yeare at 8th. of the clock in the morning *Logick*, the first three quarters, *Physicks* the last quarter.

To the second yeare, at the 9th. houre, *Ethicks* and *Politicks*, at convenient distances of time.

To the third yeare at the 10th. *Arithmetick* and *Geometry*, the three first quarters, *Astronomy* the last.

Afternoone.

The first yeare disputes at the second houre.

The 2d. yeare at the 3d. houre.

The 3d. yeare at the 4th. every one in his Art.

The 4th. day reads Greeke.

To the first yeare the *Etymologie* and *Syntax* at the eigth houre.

To the 2d. at the 9th. houre, *Prosodia* and *Dialects*.

Afternoone.

The first yeare at 2d houre practice the precepts of *Grammar* in such Authors as have variety of words.

The 2d. yeare at 3d. houre practice in *Poësy*, *Nonnus*, *Duport*, or the like.

The 3d. yeare perfect their *Theory* before noone, and exercise *Style*, *Composition*, *Imitation*, *Epitome*, both in Prose and Verse, afternoone.

The fift day reads Hebrew, and the Easterne Tongues.

Grammar to the first yeare houre the 8th,

To the 2d. *Chaldee* at the 9th. houre.

To the 3d. *Syriack* at the 10th. houre.

Afternoone.

The first yeare practice in the Bible at the 2d. houre.

The 2d. in *Ezra* and *Daniel* at the 3d. houre.

The 3d. at the 4th. houre in *Tremellius* New Testament.

The 6th. day reads Rhetorick to all at the 8th. houre.

Declamations at the 9th. So ordered that every Scholler may declaime

claime once a moneth. The reſt of the day *vacat Rhetoricis ſtudiis.*
The 7th. day reads Divinity Catechetically at the 8th. houre, Common places at the 9th. houre. Afternoone.

The firſt houre reads hiſtory in the Winter,
The nature of plants in the Summer
The ſumme of every Lecture ſhall be examined, before the new Lecture be read.

Every Schollar, that on proofe is found able to read the Originalls of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* in to the Latine tongue, and to reſolve them *Logically*; withall being of godly life and converſation; And at any publick Act hath the Approbation of the Overſeers and Maſter of the Colledge, is fit to be dignified with his firſt Degree.

Every Schollar that giveth up in writing a *Syſtem*, or *Synopſis*, or ſumme of *Logick*, Naturall and Morall *Philoſophy*, *Arithmetick*, *Geometry*, and *Aſtronomy*: and is ready to defend his *Theſes* or poſitions: withall ſkilled in the Originalls as aboveſaid: and of godly life & converſation: and ſo approved by the Overſeers and Maſter of the Colledge, at any publique *Act*, is fit to be dignified with his 2d. Degree.

---

4. *The manner of the late Commencement, expreſſed in a Letter ſent over from the Governour, and diverſe of the Miniſters, their own words theſe.*

THE Students of the firſt Claſſis that have beene theſe foure yeeres trained up in University-Learning *(for their ripening in the knowledge of the Tongues, and Arts) and are approved for their manners as they have kept their publick Acts in former yeares, our ſelves being preſent, at them; ſo have they lately kept two ſolemne Acts for their Commencement, when the Governour, Magiſtrates, and the Miniſters from all parts, with all ſorts of Schollars, and others in great numbers were preſent, and did heare their Exerciſes; which were Latine and Greeke Orations, and Declamations, and Hebrew Analyſis Grammaticall, Logicall & Rhetoricall of the Pſalms: And their Anſwers and Diſputations in Logicall, Ethicall, Phyſicall, and Metaphyſicall Queſtions; and ſo were found worthy of the firſt degree, (commonly called Batchelour)* pro more Academiarum in Anglia: *Being firſt preſented by the Preſident to the Magiſtrates and Miniſters and by him, upon their Approbation, ſolemnly admitted unto the ſame degree, and a Booke of*

Arts

Arts delivered into each of their hands, and power given them to read Lectures in the Hall upon any of the Arts, when they shall be thereunto called, and a liberty of studying in the Library.

All things in the Colledge are at present, like to proceed even as wee can wish, may it but please the Lord to goe on with his blessing in Christ, and stir up the hearts of his faithfull, and able Servants in our owne Native Country, and here, (as he hath graciously begun) to advance this Honourable and most hopefull worke. The beginnings whereof and progresse hitherto (generally) doe fill our hearts with comfort, and raise them up to much more expectation, of the Lords goodnesse for hereafter, for the good of posterity, and the Churches of Christ Iesus.

BOSTON in New-England,
September the 26.
1642.

Your very loving
friends, &c.

A Copie of the Questions given and maintained by the *Commencers* in their publick Acts, printed in *Cambridge* in *New-England*, and reprinted here *verbatim*, as followeth.

Spectatissimis Pietate, et Illustrissimis Eximia Virtute Viris, D. *Iohanni Winthropo*, inclytæ Massachusetti Coloniæ Gubernatori, D. *Johanni Endicotto* Vice-Gubernatori, D. *Thom. Dudleo*, D. *Rich. Bellinghamo*, D. *Ioan. Humphrydo*, D. *Israel. Stoughtono*.

Nec non Reverendis pientissimisque viris *Ioanni Cottono*, *Ioan. Wilsono*, *Ioan. Davenport*, *Tho. Weldo*. *Hugoni Peto*, *Tho. Shepardo*, Collegij *Harvardensis* nov. *Cantabr.* inspectoribus fidelissimis, cæteriq; Magistratibus, & Ecclesiarum ejusdem Coloniæ Presbyteris vigilantissimis,

Has Theses Philologicas, & Philosophicas quas Deo duce, Præside *Henrico Dunstero* palam pro virili propugnare conabuntur, (honoris & observantiæ gratia) dicant consecrantque in artibus liberalibus initiati Adolescentes.

Benjamin Woodbrigius.	*Henricus Saltonstall.*	*Nathaniel Brusterus.*
Georgius Downingus.	*Iohannes Bulkleius.*	*Samuel Belinghamus.*
Gulielmus Hubbardus.	*Iohannes Wilsonius.*	*Tobias Bernardus.*

Theses Philologicas.

GRAMMATICAS.

1. Linguarum Scientia est utilissima.
2. Literæ non exprimunt quantum vocis Organa efferunt.
3. Hæbræa est Linguarum Mater.
4. Consonantes & vocales Hæbreorum sunt coætaneæ.
5. Punctationes chatephæ syllabam proprie non efficiunt.
6. Linguarum Græca est copiosissima
7. Lingua Græca est ad accentus pronuntianda.
8. Lingua Latina est eloquentissima.

RHETO-

RHETORICAS.

RHetorica ſpecie differt a Logica.
In elocutione perſpicuitati cedit ornatus, ornatui copia.
3. Actio primas tenet in pronuntiatione.
4. Oratoris eſt celare Artem.

LOGICAS.

UNiverſalia non ſunt extra intellectum.
Omnia Argumenta ſunt relata.
3. Cauſa *ſine qua non* non eſt peculiaris cauſa a quatuor reliquis generalibus,
4. Cauſa & Effectus ſunt ſimul tempore.
5 Diſſentanea ſunt æque nota.
6. Contrarietas eſt tantum inter duo,
7. Sublato relato tollitur correlatum.
8. Genus perfectum æqualiter communicatur ſpeciebus.
9. Teſtimonium valet quantum teſtis.
10. Elenchorum doctrina in Logica non eſt neceſſaria.
11. Axioma contingens eſt, quod ita verum eſt, ut aliquando falſum eſſe poſſit.
12. Præcepta Artium debent eſſe κατὰ παντὸς, καθ' αὐτὸ, καθ' ὅλου τοῦ.

Theſes Philoſophicas.

ETHICAS.

PHiloſophia practica eſt eruditionis meta.
Actio virtutis habitum antecellit.
3. Voluntas eſt virtutis moralis ſubjectum.
4. Voluntas eſt formaliter libera.
5 Prudentia virtutum difficillima.
6. Prudentia eſt virtus intellectualis & moralis.
7. Juſtitia mater omnium virtutum.
8. Mors potius ſubeunda quam aliquid culpæ perpetrandum.
9. Non injuſte agit niſi qui libens agit.
10. Mentiri poteſt qui verum dicit.
11. Juveni modeſtia ſummum Ornamentum.

PHYSI-

PHYSICAS.

COrpus naturale mobile est subjectum Phisicæ.
Materia secunda non potest existere sine forma.
3. Forma est accidens
4. Unius rei non est nisi unica forma constitutiva.
5. Forma est principium individuationis.
6. Privatio non est principium internum.
7. Ex meris accidentibus non fit substantia.
8. Quicquid movetur ab alio movetur.
9. In omni motu movens simul est cum mobili.
10. Cœlum non movetur ab intelligentijs.
11. Non dantur orbes in cœlo.
12. Quodlibet Elementum habet unam ex primis qualitatibus sibi maximè propriam.
13. Putredo in humido fit a calore externo.
14. Anima non fit ex traduce.
15. Vehemens sensibile destruit sensum.

METAPHISICAS.

OMne ens est bonum.
Omne creatum est concretum.
3. Quicquid æternum idem & immensum.
4. Bonum Metaphysicum non suscipit gradus.

Thus farre hath the good hand of God favoured our beginnings: see whether he hath not engaged us to wait still upon his goodnesse for the future, by such further remarkable passages of his providence to our Plantation in such things as these:

1. In sweeping away great multitudes of the Natives by the small Pox a little before we went thither, that he might make room for us there.

2. In giving such marveilous safe Passage from first to last, to so many thousands that went thither, the like hath hardly been ever observed in any Sea-voyages.

3. In blessing us generally with health and strength, as much as ever (we might truly say) more then ever in our Native Land; many that were tender and sickly here, are stronger and heartier there. That whereas diverse other Plantations have been the graves of their

Inha

Inhabitants and their numbers much decreaſed: God hath ſo proſpered the climate to us, that our bodies are hailer, and Children there born ſtronger, wherby our number is exceedingly increaſed.

4. In giving us ſuch peace and freedome from enemies, when almoſt all the world is on a fire that (excepting that ſhort trouble with the Pequits) we never heard of any ſound of Warres to this day. And in that Warre which we made againſt them Gods hand from heaven was ſo manifeſted, that a very few of our men, in a ſhort time purſued through the Wilderneſſe, ſlew and took priſoners about 1400 of them, even all they could find, to the great terrour and amazement of all the Indians to this day: ſo that the name of the Pequits (as of *Amaleck*.) is blotted out from under heaven, there being not one that is or, (at leaſt) dare call himſelfe a Pequit.

5. In ſubduing thoſe erronious opinions carryed over from hence by ſome of the Paſſengers, which for a time infeſted our Churches peace but (through the goodneſſe of God) by conference preaching, a generall aſſembly of learned men, Magiſtrates timely care, and laſtly, by Gods own hand from heaven, in moſt remarkable ſtroaks upon ſome of the chief fomenters of them; the matter came to ſuch an happie concluſion, that moſt of the ſeduced came humbly and confeſſed their Errours in our publique Aſſemblies and abide to this day conſtant in the Truth; the reſt (that remained obſtinate) finding no fit market there to vent their wares, departed from us to an Iland farre off; ſome of whom alſo ſince that time, have repented and returned to us, and are received againe into our boſomes. And from that time not any unſound, unſavourie and giddie fancie have dared to lift up his head, or abide the light amongſt us.

6. In ſettling and bringing civil matters to ſuch a maturity in a ſhort time amongſt us having planted 50. Townes and Villages, built 30. or 40. Churches, and more Miniſters houſes; a Caſtle, a Colledge, Priſons, Forts, Cartwaies, Cauſies many, and all theſe upon our owne charges, no publique hand reaching out any helpe: having comfortable Houſes, Gardens, Orchards, Grounds fenced, Corne fields &c. and ſuch a forme and face of a Common wealth appearing in all the Plantation, that Strangers from other parts, ſeeing how much is done in ſo few yeares, have wondred at Gods bleſſing on our indeavours.

7. In giving ſuch plenty of all manner of Food in a Wilderneſſe inſomuch, that all kinds of Fleſh, amongſt the reſt, ſtore of Veniſon

in

in its ſeaſon. Fiſh both from Sea and Freſh water. Fowle of all kinds, wild & tame; ſtore of Whit-Meale together with all ſorts of Engliſh Graine, aſwell as Indian, are plentifull amongſt us; as alſo Rootes, Herbs and Fruit, which being better digeſted by the Sun, are farre more faire pleaſant and wholſome then here.

8. In proſpering Hempe and Flaxe ſo well, that its frequently ſowen, ſpun, and woven into linnen Cloath: (and in a ſhort time may ſerve for Cordage) and ſo with Cotton-wooll, (which we may have at very reaſonable rates from the Ilands) and our linnen Yarne, we can make Dimittees and Fuſtions for our Summer cloathing. And having a matter of a 1000. Sheep, which proſper well, to begin withall, in a competent time we hope to have wollen Cloath there made. And great and ſmall Cattel, being now very frequently killd for food; their skins will afford us Leather for Boots and Shoes, and other uſes: ſo that God is leading us by the hand into a way of cloathing.

9. In affording us many materialls, (which in part already are, and will in time further be improved) for Staple commodities, to ſupply all other defects: As

1. Furres, Bever, Otter, &c.
2. Clapboord Hoops, Pipeſtaves, Maſts.
3. Engliſh Wheat and other graine for *Spaine* and Weſt Indies; and all other proviſions for Victualling of Shippes
4. Fiſh, as Cod, Haddock, Herrings, Mackerill, Baſſe, Sturgeon, Seales, Whales, Sea-horſe.
5. Oyle of ſundry ſorts, of Whale, Sea-horſe, &c.
6. Pitch and Tarre, Roſen and Turpentine, having Pines, Spruce, and Pitch-trees in our Countrey to make theſe on.
7. Hempe and Flaxe.
8. Mineralls diſcovered and proved, as of Iron in ſundry places, Black-lead (many other in hopes) for the improving of which, we are now about to carry over Servants and inſtruments with us,
9. (Beſides many Boates, Shallops, Hôws, Lighters, Pinnaces) we are in a way of building Shippes, of an 100, 200, 300. 400. tunne, five of them are already at Sea; many more in hand at this preſent, we being much incouraged herein by reaſon of the plenty and excellencie of our Timber for that urpoſe, and ſeeing all the materialls will be had there in ſhort time.

10. In

10. In giving of ſuch Magiſtrates, as are all of them godly men, and members of our Churches, who countenance thoſe that be good, and puniſh evill doers, that a vile perſon dares not litt up his head; nor need a godly man to hang it down, that (to Gods praiſe be it ſpoken) one may live there from yeare to yeare, and not ſee a drunkard, heare an oath, or meet a begger. Now where ſinne is puniſhed, and judgement executed, God is wont to bleſſe that place, and protect it, *Pſal.* 106.30, *Ier.*51, *Ioſ.*7.25 with 8.1. *e contra* *Eſa.*20 21.

11. In ſtoring that place with very many of his own people, and diverſe of them eminent for godlineſſe. Now where his people are, there is his preſence, and Promiſe *to be in the middeſt of them, a mighty God to ſave, and to joy over them with ſinging*, Zeph.3.17.

12. Above all our other bleſſings, in planting *his own Name*, and *precious Ordinances* among us; (we ſpeak it humbly, and in his feare) our indeavour is to have all his own Inſtitutions, and no more then his own and all thoſe in their native ſimplicity without any humane dreſſings; having a liberty to injoy all that God Commands, and yet urged to nothing more then he Commands. Now *Where ſoever he records his Name, thither he will come and bleſſe*, Ex.20.24.

Which promiſe he eath already performed to very many ſoules in their effectuall converſion to Chriſt, and the edification of others in their holy Faith, who daily bleſſe God that ever he carried them into thoſe parts.

All which bleſſings named we looke upon, as an earneſt-penny of more to come. If we ſeeke his face, and ſerve his Providence, wee have no cauſe to doubt, that he for his part will faile to make ſeaſonable ſupplies unto us.

1 By ſome meanes to carry on to their perfection our ſtaple trades begun.

2. By Additions of Ammunition and Powder.

3. By maintenance of Schooles of Learning eſpecially the Colledge, as alſo additions of building to it, and furniſhing the Library.

4. By ſtirring up ſome well-minded to cloath and tranſport over poore children Boyes and Girles, which may be a great mercy to their bodies and ſouſes and a help to us, they being ſuper abundant here, and we wanting hands to carry on our trades, manufacture and husbandry there.

5. By ſtirring up ſome to ſhew mercy to the *Indians*, in affording maintenance to ſome of our godly active young Schollars, there to

 make

make it their worke to ſtudie their Language converſe with them and carry light amongſt them, that ſo the Goſpell might be ſpread into thoſe darke parts of the world.

Ob. But all your own coſt and ours alſo will be loſt, becauſe there can be no ſubſiſtence there for any long time. For,

1. Your ground is barren,

Anſw. 1. If you ſhould ſee our goodly Corne-fields, neere harveſt you would anſwer this your ſelfe. Secondly, how could it be thin, that we ſhould have *Engliſh* Wheat at 4. s. *per* buſhell, and *Indian* at 2.8. and this not only for ready money but in way of exchange. Thirdly, that in a wildernеſſe in ſo few yeares, we ſhould have corne enough for our ſelves and our friends that come over, and much to ſpare.

2 *Obj.* Your ground will not continue above 3. or 4 yeares to beare corne.

Anſw. Our ground hath been ſowne and planted with corne theſe 7. 10. 12. yeares already by our ſelves, and (which is more than can be ſaid here of *Engliſh* Land (never yet ſummer tild: but have borne corne, every yeare ſince we firſt went, and the ſame ground planted as long by the *Indians* before, and yet have good crops upon it ſtill, and is like to continue as ever: But this is (as many other ſlanders againſt that good Land againſt all ſenſe, reaſon and experience.

3 *Obj.* But you have no money there.

Anſw. It's true we have not much though ſome there is, but wee having thoſe ſtaple commodities named, they will (ſtill as they are improved) fetch money from other parts. Ships, Fiſh, Iron, Pipſtaves, Corn, Bever, Oyle, &c will help us with money and other things alſo.

2 Litel money is raiſed in coyne in *England*, how then comes it to abound, but by this meane?

3. We can trade amongſt our ſelves by way of exchange, one commodity for another, and ſo doe uſually.

4. *Obj.* You are like to want clothes hereafter.

Anſw. 1. Linnen Fuſtians Dimettes we are making already. Secondly, Sheepe are comming on for woollen cloath. Thirdly, in meane time we may be ſupplied by way of trade to other parts. 4th. Corivant, Deere, Seale, and Mooſe Skins (which are beaſts as big Oxen, and their skins are buffe) are there to be had plentifully, which will help this way, eſpecially for ſervants cloathing.

5. *Ob.*

5. *Obj.* Your Winters are cold.

Answ. True, at ſometimes when the wind blowes ſtrong at *Nor-Weſt*: but it holds not long together, and then it uſeth to be very moderate for a good ſpace. Firſt the coldneſſe being not naturall (that place being 42. degrees) but accidentall. Secondly, The cold there is no impediment to health, but very wholſome for our bodies, inſomuch that all ſorts generally, weake and ſtrong had ſcarce ever ſuch meaſure of health in all their lives as there. Thirdly, Its not a moiſt and foggie cold, as in *Holland*, and ſome parts of *England*, but bright, cleare, and faire wether, that men are ſeldome troubled in Winter with coughes and Rheumes. Fourthly, it hinders not our imployment, for people are able to worke or travell uſually all the Winter long, ſo there is no loſſe of time, ſimply in reſpect of the cold. Fiftly good fires (wood being ſo plentifull) will make amends.

6. *Ob.* Many are growne weaker in their eſtates ſince they went over.

Anſ. Are not diverſe in *London* broken in their Eſtates? and many in *England* are growne poore, and thouſands goe a begging (yet wee never ſaw a beggar there) and will any taxe the City or Kingdome, and ſay they are unſubſiſtable places?

Secondly their Eſtates now lie in houſes, Lands, Horſes, Cattel, Corne &c. though they have not ſo much money as they had here, and ſo cannot make appearance of their wealth to thoſe in *England*, yet they have it ſtill, ſo that their Eſtates are not loſt but changed.

3. Some mens Eſtates may be weaker through great and vaſt common charges, which the firſt planters eſpecially have bin at in makeing the place ſubſiſtable and comfortable, which now others reape the fruit of, unknowne ſummes lye buried underground in ſuch a worke as that is.

4. Some may be poore (ſo we are ſure) many are rich, that carried nothing at all that now have Houſe Land, Corne, Cattel, &c and ſuch as carry ſomething are much encreaſed.

7. *Ob.* Many ſpeake evill of the place.

Anſ. Did not ſome doe ſo of the Land of *Canaan* it ſelfe yet *Canaan* was never the worſe and themſelves ſmarted for ſo doing. Secondly ſome have been puniſhed there for their Delinquencies, or reſtrained from their exorbitances; or diſcountenanced for their ill opinions and not ſufferd to vent their ſtuffe: and hence being diſpleaſed take revenge by ſlanderous report. Thirdly, Let ſuch if any ſuch there be as have ought to alleadge, deale fairely and above board, and

come and justifie any thing against the Country to our faces while we are here to answer, but such never yet appeared in any of our presence to avouch any thing in this kinde, nor (we beleive) dare do it without blushing.

8. *Ob.* Why doe many come away from thence?

Answ. Doe not many remove from one Country to another, and yet none likes the Country the lesse because some depart from it? Secondly, few that we know of intend to abide here, but doe come on some speciall busines and purpose to returne. Thirdly of them that are come hither to stay, (on our knowledge) some of the wisest repent them already, and wish themselves there againe. Fourthly, as some went thither upon sudden undigested grounds, and saw not God leading them in their way, but were carryed by an unstayed spirit, so have they returned upon as sleight headlesse, unworthy reasons as they went. Fiftly others must have elbow-roome, and cannot abide to be so pinioned with the strict Government in the *Common-wealth*, or Discipline in the Church, now why should such live there; as *Ireland* will not brooke venemous beasts, so will not that Land vile persons, and loose livers. Sixtly, though some few have removed from them, yet (we may truly say) thousands as wise as themselves would not change their place for any other in the World.

FINIS.

NO PARLIAMENT WITHOUT A KING:

OR,

The Soveraigns Person is required in the great Councels or Assemblies of the State, aswell at the Consultations as at the Conclusions.

Jan: 31 OXFORD,

Printed for LEONARD LICHFIELD, Printer to the University. 1642.

NO PARLIAMENT Without A KING.

SInce of theſe Aſſemblies few Dieries or exact Journall Books are remaining, and thoſe but of late, and negligently entered, the Acts and Ordinances onely reported to poſterity are the Rolls.

This Queſtion (though cleer) in generall reaſon and convenience muſt be wrought out of ſuch incident proofs, as the monument of ſtory and Records by pieces learne us: and to deduce it the cleerer down, ſome eſſentiall circumſtances of name, time, place, occaſion, and perſon muſt be in generall ſhortly touched, before the force of particular proofs be layd down.

This Noble body of the State (now called the Houſes of Parliament) is knowne in ſeverall ages by ſeverall names.

ex concilliis Reg: Saxon: Cantuar

Glanvile

Leges Ethelredi Regis:

Ingulphus Croylanden:

Regist: Monaster

Concilia, the Councells in the eldeſt times, afterwards, *Magnum, Commune & generale Concillium, Curia magna capitalis & curia Regis*, ſometimes, *generale placitum*, and ſometimes *Synodus*, and *Synodalia decreta*, although aſwell the cauſes of the Common-wealth as Church were there decided.

The Name of Parliament (except in the Abbotts Chapters) was never heard of unto the Raign of King *John*, and then but rarely.

At the Kings Court thoſe Conventions were uſually, and the preſence, Privy-chamber, and other Rooms convenient for the Kings in former times (as now) then uſed; for what is the preſent Houſe of Lords but ſo at this day, and was before the firing of the Palace at *Weſtminſter*, about 17. *Hen.* 8, who then and there recided.

Improbable it is to believe the King excluded his own preſence, and unmannerly it is for gueſts to barre him their company, who gave to them their intertainment.

It was at firſt (as now) *Edicto principis*, at the Kings pleaſure, *Regiſt: Elenſe.*

Annales Mon:

Lib: de bello:

Regiſt: Wig:

Towards the end of the *Saxon*, and in the firſt time of the *Norman* King, it ſtood in Cuſtome-grace, in Eaſter, Witſuntide, and Chriſtma, fixed, the Biſhops, Earls, and Lords (*ex more*) then aſſembled, ſo are the frequent words in all the Annalls, the Kings of courſe veſted with his Imperiall Crown by the Biſhops, and the Peers aſſembling, in Recognition of their obliged faith, preſent duty, and

and ſervice, untill the unſafe time of King *John*, (by over potent and popular Lords) gave diſcountenance to this conſtant grace of Kings; and then it returned to the uncertaine pleaſure of the Soveraigne ſummons.

The cauſes then (as now of ſuch Aſſemblies, were proviſion for the ſupport of the State; or men and money, and well ordering of the Church and Common-wealth, and determining of ſuch Cauſes which ordinary Courts *neſciebunt judicare* (as *Glanvill* the grand Judge under *Hen.* 2. ſaith) where the Preſence of the King was ſtill required, it being otherwiſe abſurd, to make the King aſſent to the judgement of Parliament, and afford him no part of the conſultation. Mat: Paris:

The neceſſities hereof is well and fully deducted unto us in a reverend monument, not farre from that grave mans time, in theſe words, *Rex tenetur omnimodo perſonaliter intereſſe Parliamento, niſi per corporalem ægritudinem detineatur*; and then to acquaint the Parliament of ſuch occaſion by ſeverall Members of either Houſe, *Cauſa eſt, quod ſolebat clamor & rumor eſſe pro abſentia Regis, quia res damnoſa & periculoſa eſt toti communitati, Parliamento & Regno, cum Rex a Parliamento abſens fuerit, nec ſe abſentare debet, nec poteſt, niſi duntaxat in cauſâ ſupradictâ.*

By this appears the deſire of the State to have the Kings preſence in theſe great Councells, by expreſſe neceſſity.

I will now endeavour to lead the practiſe of it, from

from the dark and eldeſt times, to theſe no leſſe neglected of ours.

From the year 720, to near 920, during all the Heptarchy, in all the Counſell remaining, compoſed *Ex Epiſcopis, Abbatibus, Ducibus, Satrapis & omni dignitate Optimatibus Eccleſiaſticis & Secularibus perſonis pro utilitate Eccleſiæ & ſtabilitate Regni pertractatum.* Seven of them are *Rege præſidente*, and but one by deputy; and incongruous it were, and almoſt *nonſenſe* to bar his preſence, that is Preſident of ſuch an Aſſembly.

Ex Synodis, et Legibus Alfredi, Etheldredi, et Edgari

The *Saxon* Monarchy under *Alfred*, *Etheldred*, *Edgar* in their Synods or *placita generalia*, went in the ſame practiſe and ſince. Thus *Ethelwold* appealed Earle *Leofrick* from the County *ad generale placitum* before King *Etheldred* and *Edgyra* the Queen, againſt Earl *Goda*, to *Eldred* the King at *London*, *Congregatis principibus & ſapientibus Angliæ.*

Geſta Ed: Gallice.

In the year 1052, under *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, *Statutum eſt placitum magnum extra Londinum, quod Normani* (*ex Francorum conſuetudine*) *Parliamentum appellant*, where the King and all his Barons appealed *Godwyn* for his brother *Alrveds* death. The Earle denyed it, and the King replyed thus; My Lords you that are my Liege-men, Earles and Barons of the Land here aſſembled together, have heard my appeale and his anſwer, unto you be it left to doe right betwixt us.

Regiſt: Cantuar:

At the great Councell at *Weſtminſter* 1072. in Eaſter week, the cauſe of the two Archbiſhops

Lan-

Lanfrank and *Thomas*, *Ventilata fuit in presentia Regis Gulielm.* and after at *Windsor*, *finem accepit in presentia Regis.*

At the same Feast *Anno* 1081. the usuall time of such Assemblies, the King, the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and chief Nobility of the Kingdom were present, for so are the words of the Record. The cause between *Arsast* Bishop of Norway and *Baldwyn* Abbot of Burie, was also argued; *Et ventilata publico Rex jubet teneri judicium causis auditis amborum.* Regist: Sanct: Edmunds:

The diligence of his son (the learned *Henry* the first) in executing of this part of the Kingly function, is commended to posterity by *Walter Naps*, (a learned man trayned up, and deare in favour with *Hen.* the second) in these words: *Omnia Regali more decentiq; moderamine faciebat, neminem volebat regere justitia vel pace, constituerat autem ad tranquillitatem omnium, ut diebus vocationis, vel in domo magna sub dio copiam sui faceret usq; ad horum sextam*, (which was till 12. as we now account) *secum habens Comites, Barones, Proceres, & vavasores*, to hear and determine causes, whereby he attained the firname of *Leo Justitiæ* in all Stories, and so out-went (an quite quiddance of the state) his best progenitors. Walter: Maps. Hen: Hunting: Malmsbury:

The next of his name that succeeded, is remembered every where for the debates and disputes he heard in person with *Thomas* the Archbishop, and others of his part, at the greatest Councells, both at *London*, *Clarendon*, and *Northampton*, for the

the redreſſe of the many complaints of the Commons againſt out-rages, and exortions of Clergymen.

In the yeer 1057. *Die Penticoſtæ, apud S. Edmundum*, the ſame King, (*diademate inſignitus*) with the Biſhops, Abbotts, Earles, and Barons of the Kingdome, ſate daily himſelfe and heard all the debates concerning the Liberties and Charters of *Batteli Abbie:* the interlocutory ſpeeches aſwell of the King as the Lords, and parties are at full related in a Regiſter of the Church.

Regiſt: Monaſt de bello:

The ſuit between the Church of *Lincoln* and S. *Albans, in præſentia Regis H. Archi-epiſcoporum, Epiſcoporum omnium Angliæ, & comitatum & Baronum Regni*, was at *Weſtminſter* debated and ended, and had the love of memory and truth bin a Protector to the publick Records of the State, as the awe of the Clergy cenſure, was a guard to theirs in tempeſteous times, we had not been leſt to the friendſhip of *Munks* diligence for example in this kind.

Regiſt: Linc:

At *Lincolne* the Archbiſhop, ſome Biſhops, but all the Earles and Barons of the Kingdome, *Vna cum Rege Joanne congregati ad colloquium de concordia Regis Scotiæ* (ſaith a Regiſter of that Church.)

This uſe under King *Hen.* 3. needeth no farther proof than the Writt of Summons, then (as ſome report) framed, expreſſing both the Kings mind and practiſe.

It is *Nobiſcum & prelatis & magnatibus noſtris quos*

quos vocari fecimus ſuper premiſſes tractare, & conſilium impendere, which word *Nobiſcum*, implyeth plainely the Kings preſence.

What the ſucceeding practiſe was from the 15th yeer of *Edward* the fourth, the proper Records of this Inquiry (the Journall Bookes being loſt) I am enforced to draw from out the Rolls of Acts wherein ſometimes bychance they are remembred.

Edw: the ſecond was preſent in Parliament the fifteenth yeer of his Raign, at the complaint againſt the *Spencers*, and at a ſecond Parliament that yeer for the repeale of their baniſhment.

In the fourth of *Edward* the third, the KING was preſent at the Accuſation of *Roger Mortimer*, but not the triall, and the next yeere in the Treaty of the *French* Affairs, *Rot. Parl.* 4. *& Rot. P.* 5.

In the ſixt yeer, *Intererat Rex in Cauſa, John S. De Gray, & Gulielm De La-Zouch*, and the ſame yeer 2. *Die Parliamenti*, the King was preſent at the debate about his Voyage into *Scotland.*

In the fifteenth yeer, the King in the Painted-Chamber ſitting with the Lords in Conſultation, the Archbiſhop after pardon, prayes, that for better cleering himſelfe, he may be tryed in full Parliament, which was granted.

In the ſeventeenth, *in Camera alba* (now called the Court of *Requeſt*) *Rex cum magnatibus convenimet & comunes ſuper negotiis Regni.*

In the tenth yeer of *Rich:* the ſecond, the King departed from the Parliament in ſome diſcontent,

when after ſome time; Lords were ſent to pray His preſence, and to informe His Majeſty, that if he forbore his preſence amongſt them forty dayes, that then, *ex antiquo Statuto*, they may return *abſq; domigero Regis*, to their ſeverall home.

Henry the fourth begun his firſt Parliament the firſt of *Novemb.* and was the 27th day of the ſame Moneth at debate about the Duke of Brittaine, the thirtieth day the cauſe of the Archbiſhop was before him propoſed onely.

The third of *November* he was at the debate whether the Commons had right of Judicature, yea, or no.

On the tenth he was with the Lords in their conſultation about the expedition againſt the *Scots*, the Creation of the Duke of *Lancaſter*; and the prohibition of a new Sect from entring this Kingdome; ſome Ordinances were at this time conſulted of concerning the Stapples, and the ſentence againſt *Haxey* after diſpute revoked.

This KING began his ſecond Parliament the twentieth of January, and on the ninth of February, was preſent to make agreement betwixt the Biſhop of *Norwich* and *Thomas* of *Erpingham*.

On the twentieth day of the ſame Moneth, he was preſent at Councell for ſuppreſſing of the *Welſh* Rebells; for revocations of ſtipends, and concerning the *Priors Aliens*.

On the twenty ſix, they adviſe before the King of the Seſtertian Order.

On

On the second of *March* of the Statute of provisions, the Keeper of the privy Seale, and relieving of the two Universities.

On the ninth of *March*, the mediate before the King a Reconciliation betwixt the Earle of *Rutland* and the Lord *Fitzwaters*.

He also began a Parliament in his first yeer, upon the tenth of January, and the eighteenth they advise before the King of guarding of the Seas, and the *Welsh* Rebellion.

On the eight of *February*, the Earle of Northumberland is charged before the King, and in his presence, and by his permission, divers of whom he knew no harme, were removed from the Court.

The next day at the Petition of the Commons, he tooke upon Him to reconcile the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland: And on the twenty two of *Feb*: Of Northumberland and Dunbar,

In a Parliament of the twenty seventh of *Hen.* 6th. A challenge of Seat in Parliament, betwixt the Earles of Arundell and Devonshire was examined, and appointed by the King with the advise of the Lords.

In that great Capitall Cause of the Duke of Suffolke, 28. *H.* 6. I find not the King once present at the debate; but the Duke appealing from his triall by Peerage to the King, is brought from out the House of Lords to a private Chamber, where

the King (after the Chancellor in groſſe had declared his offence, and refuſall) Himſelfe, (but not in place of Judgement) adjudged his banishment.

By the Rolls of *Edw:* the fourth, It appears that he was many dayes (beſides the firſt to laſt) in Parliament, and there are entered ſome Speeches by him uttered; but that of all the reſt is moſt of marke: the report, or then preſent tells it thus, of the Duke of Florence, and the King: *Triſtis diſceptatio inter duos tantæ humanitatis Germannos, Nemo arguit contra Ducem niſi Rex, nemo reſpondet Regi niſi Dux.* Some other teſtimonies were brought in, with which the Lords were ſatisfied; And ſo *Formarunt meum ſententiam, damnationis*, by the mouth of the Duke of Buckingham, (then Steward of *England*) All which was much diſtaſted by the Houſe of Commons.

The Raigne of *Hen.* the ſeventh affords upon the Rolls no one example (the Journall Bookes being loſt) except ſo much as preſerves the paſſages of eight dayes, in the 12. of his Raign, in which the King was ſome dayes preſent at debates, and with his own hand, the one and thirtieth day of the Parliament, delivered in a Bill of Trade there read; but had the memoriall remained, it is no doubt but he would have beene found as frequent in his great Councell of Parliament, as he was in the Star-chamber, whereby the Regiſter of that Court appeareth, aſwell in debate at private

private causes, that touch neither life nor member, as those of publique care; he every yeear of all his Raigne was often present.

Of *Hen.* 8. Memory hath not beene envious, but if he were not often present, peradventure that may be the cause of the disarder, which the learned Recorder *Fleetwood* in his preface to the *Annalls* of *E.* 5. *R.* 3. *Hen.* 7. 8. Hath observed in the Statutes made in the Kings dayes; for which cause he hath severed their *Index* from the former, and much lay in the Will of *Wolsey*, who was over unwilling to let that King see with his owne eyes.

Edward the sixt in respect of his young yeers may be well excused, but that such was his purpose appears by a memoriall of his owne hand, who purposing the affairs of Councell to severall persons, reserved those of greatest waight to his owne presence, in these words: These to attend the matters of State, that I will sit with them once a weeke to heare the debating of things of most importance.

Unfitnesse by Sex in his two succeeding Sisters to be so frequently present as their former Ancestors, led in the ill occasion of such opinion and practise.

In consultations of State, and decisions of private plaints, it is cleer from all times, the King was not onely present to advice and heare, but to determine also. In

In the caſes criminall and not of blood, to barre the King a part were to ſeclude him; but the doubt is allowed in crimes meer Capitall; and if in ſuch a caſe the King ſits not, and yet the judgement of the two Houſes be lawfull, why may they not be lawfull in other caſes without the King, ſeeing the King refuſeth to joyne with them?

The example in the cauſe of the Duke of Suffo'ke. 28. *H.* 6. Where the King gave judgement, was proteſted againſt by the Lords.

That of the Duke of Carence, 6. *E.* 4. Where the Duke of Buckhingham the high Steward, and the Lords gave judgement, was proteſted againſt by the Commons; in both of theſe the King was ſometimes preſent. But which of theſe wi l ſuit theſe times I dare not gheſſe.

However this I dare affirme (as inevitably conſequent from theſe precedent Preſidents, ſo anciently derived unto theſe preſent times,) that the Kings perſonall abſence from the ſtation of higheſt power is inconſiſtant with the power it ſelfe, and ſo long as there is a Triple coordination in that Eſtate, to wit, of Supream Judicature there ought to be no perſonall abſence whatſoever, either of Head or Member, eſpecially of the Head, except in caſe of ſickneſſe or the like; for as it is prejudiciall to the power it ſelfe, and incongrous to the nature thereof, ſo it is an infringment of a truſt committed

ted, and of obnoctious consequence to the Common wealth, for whose good onely those powers that are, are ordained of God. Therefore if the unite existence be taken away, with it the essentiall Triplicity or triple being thereof ceaseth, and those that have thus unnaturally laboured *vi & armis* to make this Triplicity at odds by this Capitall seperation, are murtherers of that body whereof He is the Head, which though it be the Receptacle or Cabbinet of the sences and vitall Spirits, yet the body thus wounded it must needs be in a languishing and expiring condition; so that the Authors of this decollation are the Kings executioners and Butchers of the Kingdome, however their faire pretences for King and Parliament carry another face. Now the power of consultation and consent committed to this Judicatury or mixt Monarchy, aswell Head as Members, and the Sword of Justice to the unity thereof, it will follow that a voluntary seperation or division there from of one or the other, is unwarrantable either by ancient Presidents or common reason, and the party thus seperated cannot retain the unity and mixture of that power, for tis impossible that that Unity should move out of its Centure of Triplicity, must remaine inseperable (though violated) with them who continue stedfast in that station, what enormities soever accrue upon it or them (which neither can nor are a few) in case of such Division.

How

How neceſſary then the Soveraigns Perſons is required in the preſent Councells or Aſſemblies of the ſtate, aſwell at conſultations as at the concluſions, let the rationall man judge, and how healthfull to the weale-publicke of the Land; let the bleeding miſeries of our preſent condition tell; Let all therefore who love the good of King or Kingdom, or of themſelves or their poſterity, dayly pray and labour that all inſtigation in this unhappy deviſion, both of one ſide and the other may ceaſe; that welcome PEACE may ſet a period to this diviſion: and that through a bleſſed Union, both preſent and ſucceeding Ages, *May behold No Parliament without A KING.*

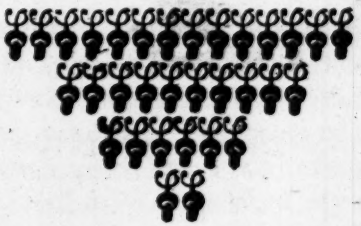
FINIS.

4

AN HONEST LETTER TO A DOUBTFULL FRIEND,

ABOUT

The rifling of the Twentieth *part of his Eſtate.*



Jan. (Printed in the Yeare) 31

1642.

TO HIS
MUCH ESTEEMED FRIEND
and Kinſman Sir H. W. at his
houſe in *Weſtminſter*.

SIR,

THE indiſpoſition of my body hath confined me to my Chamber, we muſt now therefore diſcourſe by letters: your Petition for peace I ſee is not ſo happy as to find ſucceſſe in Parliament, at which while I wondred I began to conſider the reaſons, which are diverſe as the perſons oppoſing it. Therefore you muſt firſt obſerve the oppoſors, and then the reaſons will be evident. It is not fit the Houſes of Parliament ſhould deny the obedient Citizens of London any thing, for that may be diſtaſtfull to the City; nor yet grant the Requeſt of the Petition; for that may be diſtructive to the Profit of many Members of both Houſes, and to ſome even of the City it ſelfe. It was therefore wiſely done of my abortive Lord Major & his Zealous Sectaries to attempt the ſtrangling of it in the birth, by Committing ſome that were active about it; the Reaſons are Reformation of Religion, that is, aboliſhing the Booke of Common-prayer as Popiſh, though juſtified by the *Compoſers Martyrdom* under the Popiſh tyranny, but that will make way for their new doctrines and extemporary bablings, next the diſſolving of Biſhopricks and Deanries will repay the mony lent upon publique faith, for advancing the *Lords warre*, (for ſo they miſcall treaſon) & to conclude, that being *the Lords debt*, it is fitteſt to be paid out of the Lords inheritance, then Biſhops being eradicated Elders, may grow up and flouriſh as in *Suſannaes* dayes. And 'tis Conſiderable, that the eſtates of

Ma-

Malignants will be loſt rewards for the godly laborers in this harveſt; all which will be loſt by a beggarly accommodation.

Touching the Houſes of Parliament, which conſiſts of about 140 Lords, and 500 Commoners, of which not a fift part doe attend in their ſeverall Houſes, ſome being voted out, others committed for not conforming their Conſciences to the ſence of the Houſe, and very many, diſliking the proceedings and tumults, left the Houſe & repayred to the King, with whom a greater part I am ſure is then attend both Houſes, being come to preſerve their oathes of Allegiance which is perſonall to the King.

Take (Sir) but a view of ſuch as ſit and act the buſineſſe in the Houſes of Parliament, obſerve who among them have Commands and places of profit in and about this warre, then examine their ſmall eſtate, with the great debt and charge; the rich profit of their command with their poor Revenew. You may find the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Pembrook*, *Rutland*, *Salisbury*, *Holland*, ſitting in the Lords Houſe; and in the Houſe of Commons Sir *Edward Hales*, Sir *George Stonehouſe*, Sir *Alexander Denton*, M. *Edw. Waller*, M. *Maynard*, M. *Thomas Cooke*, Sir *Thomas Hutchinſon*, M. *Philips*, M. *Ellis*, and others, all voting for Peace, to preſerve the eſtates they have, not find them in the liſt of Officers to get maintenance. All men know my miſled Lord of *Eſſex* loſt the beſt of his eſtate in loſt *Ireland*, and his whole debt, and great Accompt to his Nephew *Shirley* is to be paid out of a ſmall Remainder, hath not my Lord of *Warwick* ſould all he can, but yet his creditors take new promiſes for old debts, though he be reſponſall for 400000 pound *prout per accompt*? are the Lords of *Peterborough*, *Stamford*, *Say*, and *Brook*, neceſſitous? their debts and charge preſſing? then their commands are double; both Horſe and Foot. The Lords *Haſtings*, *Rachford*, *Wharton*, St. *John Mandevill*, *Feelding*, *Gray* of *Grooby*, Sir *Hugh Chamley*, Sir *Samuell Luke*, Sir *John Merrick*, Maſter *Nathaniel Fines*, Maſt. *Martin*, M. *Wingate*, M. *Walton*, M. *Cromwell*, Collonell *Venne*, M. *John More*, and others, are men whoſe credit (as appears by

Screve-

Screveners bookes) is as great as their eſtates, not invited to Commands by the profit of the places, but by their Conſcientious zeale to the Cauſe, others of the Houſes (leaſt any water ſhould runne beſide their Mill) preferre their Sonnes, Brothers, and neere Friends, to places and imployments of profit about this warre, as M. *Pym* his ſonne *Alexander*, Sir *H. Mildemay* his brother *Anthony*, my Lord *Say* his ſonne *Iohn*, and others other friends, while ſome men of the Houſe have confeſt that the pay made them undertake the cauſe, and which of all theſe, ſave Sir *Iohn Merrick*, knowes ought of his place but the profit? Nay, many of them for the better ſervice fight by their Lieutenants, as they pay debts by their ſureties, and how many of them, ſave two or three which are taken priſoners, received a wound, or ſtruck one blow in the late battels of *Edge-hill* & *Branceford*, what hopes then that theſe men wil give their Votes and 12. or 1500. l. *per ann.* for a barren peace? will my Lord Major ſubſcribe a Petition that ſhall take away his toll, 12. d. for Paſſes out of *London*? or Colonell *Mannering*, the craſed Mercer, Captain *Baſſe*, the Lace-man, Captain *Maſon*, the Button maker, Captaine *Witherly*, the Pewterer, Captaine *Capcote* the Broaker, Captaine *Lee* the Vintner, with the Cunnyskin Captaine in Southwark, and divers other Debt-compounding-Citizens, their pay and protections againſt Creditors, and leave themſelves nought but a Gaole to live in? What can you hope for by your Petition that theſe men, and the like, can hinder?

Now ſurveigh the Popiſh and beggarly Lords and Cavaliers for and about the King, as the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſſe *Hartford*, Earles of *Cumberland*, *Darby*, *Lindſey*, *Bath*, *Dorſet*, *Bridgwater*, *Danby*, *Leiceſter*, *Devonſhire*, *North-Hampton*, *Cheſterfield*, *Briſtoll*, *Weſtmerland*, *Barkſhire*, *Newcaſtle*, *Carnarvon*, *Kingſton* and *Thanet*. The Lords *Mowbray*, *Mountague* of *Baughton*, *Daincourt*, *Shandoys*, *Spencer*, *Gray*, *Mohume*, *Dunſmore*, *Newarke*, *Seymore*, *Capell*, and others: Then of the Houſe of Commons, Sir *Chriſto. Hatton*, Sir *Iarvas Clifton*, S. *Guy Palmes*, S. *James Thinn*, Mr *Iames Coventry*, Mr *Henry* and *Iohn Bellaſſey*, Sir *Thq. Fanſhaw*, Sir *Richard*

Lenson, Sir *Tho: Danly*, Sir *Ioh. Packington*, Sir *Rit. Lee*, Sir *Charles le Grosse*, Mast: *Catline*, Mast: *Holborne*, Mr: *Bridgman*, Mr *Chadwell*, Sr *John Stangwayes* & his son, Mr *John Digby*, Sr *Edw: Dering*, Sir *Will: Widdrinton*, Mr *Venables*, Baron of *Kinnerton*, Mr *Rogers*, Mr *Newport*, Sir *Edw: Alford*, Mr *Whitmore*, Mr *Chitchley*, Mr *Edgcombe*, Sr *John Stowell*, M. *Crook*, Mr *Nowell*, Mr *Sutton*, Sr *will. Oagle*, Sr *Wil. Poole*, & one hundred more then my paper will hold, men of understanding & known integrity, & which of all these whose age & health would permit, adventured not their lives and estates in this war with the King? Now let's examine their Religion, and you shall find them dayly at Sermons and service with the King, hearing and practising the same Protestant Religion and Liturgy, that saved our Fathers, and hath been in our Church ever since the Reformation, and which we have vowed by the late Protestation to maintaine, then (no doubt) neither the King nor they are likely to bring in Popery, nor be Separatists.

That they are men of Estates the Counties that elected them (if not the Kingdome) knowes, and which of them hath any profit by the warre? which of them goes not himselfe and servants to the warre at his owne charge? Nay, which of them hath not otherwise in a large manner contributed to the maintenance of the Kings Army, and that without any Commands of an Ordinance; yea, even against the Declaration of the Houses? what would they and others then have done, had an Order of the Houses directed it as on the other side? By this then you see they are neither Popishly nor beggarly; Nor can have any reward or hopes of repaire out of the estates of the adverse party.

But they would induce arbitrary govenment: I pray what proofe is there of that? what one act hath the King done since the Commence of the Parliament that savours of arbitrary justice? whom hath he distrained, committed, or turned out of the Towne for not lending? Nay, what hath hee not done to assure us the contrary? Read His Declarations, observe his regall promises and protestations, and then

tell

tell me what Christian (that hath charity) or what man (that would be beleeved) will not beleeve him? Hath he not regulated the Councell-Table? damned the Shipwrits? suppreſt the high-Commiſſion and Martiall-Court? Nay, hath he not left all things to be tried by ſtrict proceedings of law?

Whom can arbitrary juſtice more prejudice, then thoſe now about and with the King? the Rich and wealthy men? ſurely then they will not be a meanes to induce that law that ſhall undoe, & inſlave them, their children, families & eſtates. Yet muſt we lend mony, ſend horſes, and raiſe Armes againſt theſe popiſh and beggerly Cavaliers. For 'tis not againſt the King that were Treaſon, and breach of our late Proteſtation, which is to defend His Majeſty, yet was the Kings Perſon in danger at *Edge-Hill* Battle, when the undiſtinguiſhing ſhot tooke ſome perſons even about the King, but God did then, and I hope alwayes will cover His head in the day of Battell.

Upon theſe Conſiderations, Sir, I cannot beleeve or feare the reducement of Popery or arbitary Juſtice; nor thinke my conſcience, perſon, or eſtate, tyed by the neceſſitous Ordinance of both Houſes (for want of an act of Parliament) to pay or let the twentieth part of my eſtate (which you know may come to three or foure hundred pound) be taken to ſupport a warre, wherein the Perſon of the King (which God forbid) may be hurt.

I am ſure that while God promiſed the Scepter to *Iuda*, he put the Law-giver between his feet, to let us know, That the legiſlative power is neither above, nor without the King. And I know the King by His Writs, doth call them to adviſe with him, not to reſolve without him. I will therefore keepe my hands from giving, and ſo preſerve my conſcience; I will faſt bolt my doores, and ſo preſerve my perſon and eſtate untill a ſtronger then I come. For I had rather others committed treſpaſſe in taking, then I treaſon in giving. And I am ſure that both Armies are not on the right ſide, but one, with all their voluntary maintainers and abetters, muſt, without Gods infinite mercy, be guilty of the blood of all the men ſlayne on either ſide. I ſhall therefore, for my particular, beleeve and

follow

follow the rule of the Apostle, to *obey the King, for He is set over us by God*, rather then runne with the new opinions and contrary doctrine of our militant Evangelists, Dr *Burges*, Dr *Downing*, Mr *Marshall*, and *Sedgwicke*, whose consciences start out of the way at a white Surplesse, but never boggle at garments *rolled in blood*. There are other things considerable with us Citizens also, as the returne of Sir *Faithfull Fortescue*, Lieutenant *Collonell Wagstaffe*, and my Ld *Essex* favorite, Captain *Scrimpshaw*, unto the King, next the danger and jealousie we are in, that even some of the great ones will follow, (for these are but harbengers,) and rather then come empty handed to their King, will make us their peace-offering.

Let's consider the event of War, wherein we can yet boast nothing but our successe at *Winchester*. But had we had the day at *Edge-hill*, and totally routed the Cavaliers, would that have determined the warre? I feare rather have called in all the Monarches of Christendome to maintaine Monarchy, and then were we ingaged, like the Low-countries, in perpetuall blood. How great then is our straight, for if we succeed we undoe our selves. If the King by victory, (or trechery of our Commanders) the labour's saved us then, for having refused his mercy, we must expect his justice.

I have now, Sir, unbosom'd my selfe to you my friend, let therefore my errors find a friendly reproofe, rectifying my mistakes by your advice, which I shall take as Commands, returne you the thankfull acknowledgment of

Read and burne.

Your friend and Kinseman
T. R.

Milkestreet London, 28.
Decemb. 1642.

THE Contra-Replicant, HIS COMPLAINT To His Maieſtie.

Jan: 31 By: mr H: Parker Eſſq 1642.

A Petition for Peace is preſented to the Parliament by ſome thouſands of Citizens; the Petition findes a peaceable anſwer; and that Anſwer (as I ſhall now ſet forth) is oppoſed by an unpeaceable Reply, but that time may be the better husbanded, and indifferent Readers the better ſatisfied, before I undertake the Replication it ſelfe, I deſire all men to be preadvertiſed of ſome few things.

Schollars have been very active in this unnaturall warre, both in rayſing and fomenting it; the tongue hath made ſome wounds as well as the hand; and the ſword had never been ſo keene, had it not been whetted by the Pen: but Schollars are not active on both ſides alike, (to ſhew their partiality, and intereſt in this cauſe) 'tis only on the Kings ſide, where the Pen and the Launce are both brandiſht in the ſame hand. And it is wiſely ordered, for the Kings Intereſt will be the more hopefully purſu'd when Schollars ſecond it with their Arts, and the Schollars Intereſts will be the eaſier gained, when the King ſeconds them with his Armes. But of all kindes of Learning Oratory is moſt relyed on: and of all kindes of Oratory, that is moſt made uſe of, which is moſt wantonly painted and dreſſed, and borrowes moſt from oſtentatious Art, and is therefore moſt unfit for buſineſſe, either of Law or State, becauſe it is moſt fit to inveagle, and deceive with its falſe graces and flouriſhes. The tongue of *Cyneas* was very advantageous to *Pyrrhus* in ſubduing Townes and Cities, but 'tis likely more of manly Logick then of effeminate

feminate Rhetorick flow'd from that tongue of his, or elſe Townes and Cities in thoſe dayes were governed by very illiterate men. None but the duller ſort of people are to be catcht by pure Oratory, the wiſer ſort are well enough inſtructed, that when the Fowlers pipe playes moſt melodiouſly, the ſnare is coucht moſt pernitiouſly. That man is very unworthy to judge of Papers that cannot diſtinguiſh betweene foundations and ſuperſtructions, reaſons and Aſſumptions; that cannot diſcerne betweene prooving of premiſes, and purſuing of concluſions: and yet the chiefeſt fraud of the Orator is to paſſe over that part of the buſineſſe which requires moſt proofe, without proofe at all, and that which is moſt darke without light at all, and that which is moſt important without mention at all. 'Tis enough for the Orator to blazon the bloudy ſhield of warre in generall, when 'tis his ſole charge to diſpute who are the guilty cauſers and promoters of this particular warre: 'Tis enough for him to take it for granted, or at moſt upon his owne credit to affirme it, *That the Kings party of Papiſts and Arminian Clergy men and delinquents were firſt aſſayled by this Parliament, without cauſe or danger*; and ſo *per ſaltum* to proceed to venemous invectives, and curſed cenſures againſt the Parliament: when his maine taske is to proove either that a Parliament may in no caſe whatſoever defend it ſelfe, or that this warre in the Parliament is not defenſive. If wee peruſe all the papers which have come out in the Kings behalfe, under his name, or otherwiſe; we ſhall find nothing proper to be inſiſted on, but theſe two points, *That defenſive warre is unlawfull in Parliaments, or that this warre in the Parliament is not defenſive*; and yet nothing leſſe hath been inſiſted on; nay though the Fabricke bee vaſt that is built and raiſed thereupon, yet that which ought to ſupport all the fabrick is utterly neglected; ſo in this reply (now to be examined) if much be affirmed, yet little is prooved, and if any proofe be made 'tis of ſequels, not of premiſſes; 'tis of aſſumptions deduced, not of *Theſes* deducing: and 'tis plaine and obvious to all that the *Replicant* here pleads not as if he ſtood at the barre, but pronounces ſentence, as if he ſate on the Bench: We may juſtly therefore ſuſpect that he aymes not at the ſatisfying of wiſe men, but the dazelling of ſimple men, and that he would not daube with his fucuſſes every line, and embelliſh with his Careſſing Phraſes every ſentence, if he did not affect the pompe of Mr *Rhombus* the Pedant, rather then the gravitie of a Statiſt. The next Art of our *Replicant* is to impoſe thoſe his nude averments, which are moſt falſe and improbable, with moſt boldneſſe and aſſurance, aſſailing as it were thereby the beliefe of other men with armed violence. That it may paſſe for currant that *Farnham Caſtle was ſurprized contrary to the faith, and Treaty of Sir William Waller* (with whom no Treaty was ever entertained, nor ſpoken of,) it muſt be further averred, *That our ſide was falſe at Wincheſter, falſe in Yorkſhire, falſe every where*; but theſe things

eadem

eadem facilitate negantur, quâ affirmantur. Another advantage of the Kings party is by multitude of writings, invective and Satyricall: both the Universities are become mints of defamatory disgracefull papers, the Regiments of the Kings Pen-and-Inkhorne men, are more and fuller then of his sword-men; and though too many papers are scattered of both sides, yet those of the Kings are most of them serious, and done by able men, whereas those of the Parliaments side for the most part are ridiculous done by Sots, or prevaricators to the disadvantage of the partie. After these premonitions I come to the Replication it selfe. The substance of the Petition was *That the Parliament would tender such Propositions for Accommodation, as might be accepted with honour to his Majesty, and safety to the Kingdome.* The substance of the Answer was that the Parliament was truly and heartily desirous of a safe and honourable Accommodation, and for an instance of that their desire would seeke nothing from the King, but to enjoy the due essentiall Priviledges of his highest Court of Law and policie, which priviledge must needs qualifie and fit them rather to judge, then to be judged by any other inferiour partie. That a totall submission to the King, he being so farre addicted to a faction of *Papists* and haters of *Parliaments*, could neither be safe nor honourable. That to submit to the Kings party were to submit to the foes of Religion and Libertie: foes irreconcileable, and such as ever had been dangerous, and were now made more furious by bloud against the Parliament. That if the Petitioners being but a part of *London*, and that but a part of *England*, should in stead of an honourable safe Accommodation presse the Parliament to a dishonourable unsafe submission to the Kings party, it were a breach of publike trust in the Parliament to yeeld therein, the Parliament being trusted by the whole Kingdome, that if a just fit Accommodation be intended the King ought to trust the Parliament in part, as well as the Parliament ought in part to trust the King. That both parties being equally disarmed, the Protestants being lesse countenanced by the King, and more obliged in Conscience by oathes and agreements, would be more obnoxious to disadvantages, then that party wherein so many Papists are predominant. That though the Parliament might submit, yet a faire Accommodation it could not obtaine, except the King would equally condescend thereunto. That if the Petitioners had found out a more safe and honourable Accommodation then the Parliament had yet discovered; (for that was possible) the Parliament would embrace it; That if none such could be found out, the affections and Judgements of the Parliament ought not to be censur'd or distrusted. That it behooved the Petitioners to addresse themselves by the like petition to the King, if no want of affection to peace were apparent in the *Parliament*, as certainly none was.

In contradiction and opposition to all the severall poynts in this Analysis,

what the *Replicant* hath ſet forth, wee ſhall now ſee in the ſame order.

1. The *great contrivers of our ſad diviſions, which abuſe the weake reaſon of the people, to keepe up an unfortunate miſunderſtanding between King and Subject* are not named by the *Replicant*; but they are clearely pointed out *to be the Chiefe Lords and Commons in Parliament*: for he ſaith, *Every new Vote of late hath been a new affliction*: and *he makes Pennington and the Citty Lecturers to be but Iourney-men Rebels under them*: and even this Helliſh ſlander he venteth *under the name of the Petitioners, whom he ſtiles the moſt conſiderable perſons of the Citty*: and at the ſame time affirmeth, *that the people generally are of honeſt affections. And the Anſwer to the Petition in which, the words* (he ſaies) *are ſofter then oyle, though the matter of it be poiſon of Aſpes, he attributes only to ſome Chiefe Engineers of miſchiefe in the Houſe, though it carry in it the Authority of the whole Houſe.* Here is a wonder beyond all wonders. A few factious perſons in Parliament over-awe the major, better and wiſer part in Parliament; and by a few factious Inſtruments in Citty and Countrey abuſe the major, better and wiſer part there alſo into the moſt miſerable diſtempers and calamities that ever were; and though the honeſt generality begin to grow wiſer and are inſtructed by the ſence of their miſeries, and by other advertiſements from loyall Papiſts and Prelates, and other pious Courtiers and ſouldiers to ſhake off their few Tormentors: Nay, and though the King himſelf has not onely publiſht the moſt eloquent and ſubtill Declarations to diſabuſe the people, that ever were (himſelfe being the moſt beloved and honoured Prince that ever was for his indulgence to Liberty and Religion) but hath alſo advanced a moſt puiſſant and victorious Army to releeve theſe undeceived wretches; yet the incantation holds, no humane force either of Armes or Arts can diſſolve it. The miracles of *Moſes* had an impreſſion of divine vertue upon them, and did therefore triumph over all the Egyptians ſpels: but in this caſe, Mr *Pym*, with I know not what infernall engines diſtorts and wreſts all the Orbes of a Kingdome from their naturall motions; and yet no divine Art can reſiſt him. 'Twas never beleev'd before that any but God could work contrary to nature, but now it muſt be beleeved. But is it ſo apparent that the Parliament is averſe from peace? yet ſaies the *Replicant*, *For withdraw the fuell, and the fire is ſoon extinguiſht: Let the Parliament not foment the ill humour* (*by ſupplyes of men, Armes and Ammunition*) *and the wound will heale of it ſelfe.* In the petition, nothing but an Accommodation, ſafe and honourable was pretended, but now we ſee a meere ſubmiſſion is intended in this replication.

Tis not prooved: That the Armes of the Parliament are unjuſt; 'tis not prooved, that it may be ſafe for the Kingdome to proſtrate, and ſubject Parliaments to the diſcretion of that faction which now has bereav'd us of the Kings preſence and favour; yet becauſe the Replicant will take upon him to condemne Parliaments; we muſt alſo allow of his Judgement. But

But 'its further say'd by the Replicant, *that even Accommodation it selfe is not pleasing in Parliament, witnesse that speech of one, I like not dawbing:* and tha of another, *I hate the name of Accommodation.* Hee which hates the name of an Accommodation as it has been used of late to signifie a totall submission, may love a true Accommodation in it selfe: and he that likes not the daubing of those which under the colour of Accommodation ayme at nothing but division and dissention amongst the people, may more heartily affect a safe, and honourable agreement, then the Replicant himselfe.

Can the Parliament expresse zeale to peace better then by contracting all its rights and priviledges into one compendious proposition, for the setling of union? To purchase true peace, the Parliament desires nothing but to retain the meere being of a Parliament; that is, to be the supreme Court of King and Kingdome. And if it can stand with the essence of such a Court to be arraign'd, tryed and sentenced by a faction of Papists, Prelates, Delinquents, and Souldiers, the Parliament will submit to that Condition also.

2. When we expresse our feares of the Kings party, and therefore deny submission thereunto as dangerous and dishonourable, the *Replicant* tels us further, *we are required not to submit to our fellow subiects, but to the King only:* and he tels us further, *that the Lawes are the best security, and those we shall enioy, and to claime any higher securitie is to assume the power of Kings.* How farre the Lawes of the Land have been sufficient to preserve to Parliaments, and the better part of loyall Protestant subjects their rightfull portion and interest in the Kings favour, for these 17. yeares last past, is knowne to all; The Lawes of *Scotland* could not secure the better and greater part there; The Lawes of *Ireland* have not saved the Brittaines and Protestants from Massacres there: and yet certainly both those Kingdomes are intitled to Lawes of as ample benefit, and vigour as ours now is. But what speake we of Common Lawes, when even at this instant such a free subjects house is burnt and plundered by the Kings party, in derision and despight of the Kings owne Proclamation and particular *Placard* granted for the safegard of himselfe and his family? As our Judges preyed upon us heretofore in matters of State, and Divines oppressed us in matters of Religion: so our Martialists now have a power of spoyling above the generall Law, or any particular protection. If the King thinke fit to grant safety to such a person, or such a Towne, it must be provided alwayes that such a Dutch or Scotch Commander, who conceives himselfe more skilfull in war then the King give his approbation withall; for my part I conceive it more honourable for the King to say that he cannot, then that he would not save his people from all those cursed indignities and cruelties which have been multiplyed upon us during this warre, and before, by his adherents. As for Lawes therefore we must take notice that they may be imployed either to the benefit or prejudice

dice of any Nation, and that they themſelvss do require to be regulated by further Lawes. No Nation can be free without a three-fold priviledge: The firſt is in the framing and paſſing of Lawes. The ſecond is in declaring and interpreting Lawes. And the third is in executing and preſerving Lawes in force. Where the King is ſole Law-maker all things are ſubject to his meer diſcretion, and a greater bondage then this never was nor can be; the *Engliſh* lie not under ſuch baſe ſervitude, their King claimes but a part in the Legiſlative power: and yet nevertheleſſe of late by diſcontinuing of Writs for the ſummoning of Parliaments, and by the right of a Negative voyce in Parliaments, and an untimely diſſolving of Parliaments, the peoples intereſt in this Legiſlative power has been much abridged and ſuſpended. In the like manner alſo if the ſole power of declaring Lawes were ſo in the King as that he might himſelfe give Judgement, or create Judges at his pleaſure without impoſing Oathes of truſt on them in behalfe of the people, or ſhould deny redreſſes upon Appeales from them, our Legiſlative power would be vaine and uneffectuall to us. For my part I hold it an equall thing, whither juſt men make Lawes and unjuſt interpret them, or unjuſt men make Lawes and juſt interpret them. When it was juſt in the King of late to impoſe what taxes hee pleaſed, and as often as he pleaſed upon us for the preparing of *Armadoes* all over *England*. Our Nation was fallen into a moſt deſperate thraldome, yet the fault was not then in the Lawes, but in the Judges, and ſuch as had a power over the Judges, Lawes as they are deafe, and by a ſtrict inflexibility more righteous then living Judges, ſo they are dumb alſo, and by their want of Language more imperfect then the breſts of men. And indeed ſince the Lawes of God and Nature, though knowne to all, yet do not utter to all the ſame ſenſe, but remaine in many plaine points ſtrangely controverted, as to their intent and meaning; how can we hope that any humane Lawes ſhould ſatisfie all mens underſtanding in abſtruſe points, without ſome living Key to open them? the vaſt Pandects and digeſts of the Law ſufficiently teſtifie, that in the cleareſt Law, which mankind could ever yet diſcover there are dark and endleſſe Labyrinths, wherein the weaker ſort of lay men are preſently loſt, & the learneſt advocates are tediouſly perplext.

In the laſt place alſo if the ſole power of inforcing and executing Lawes were ſo veſted in the King, as that he might uſe it to the ceſſation or perverſion of all juſtice, and the people were in ſuch caſe remedileſſe, the intereſt in making and declaring of Law were invalid, and fruſtrate in the people, and the King might ſtill inſlave or deſtroy them at his pleaſure. The *Replicant* ſayes, *That under a Monarchy much muſt be truſted to the King, or elſe it will be debaſed into Democracie.* Tis confeſſed much muſt, but all muſt not be truſted: the queſtion then is, how farre this *much* extends in a Monarchy of ſuch a mixt nature as ours is, in ſuch times as ours now are?

In

In abſolute Monarchies all is truſted to the King: in abſolute Democracies all is veſted in the people: in a mixt Monarchy more is truſted to the King, then is reſerved to the people; and in a mixt Democracie more is reſerved to the people, then is derived to the Prince. In all formes of Government the people paſſes by way of truſt, all that power which it retaines not, and the difference of formes is only in degree, and the degrees are almoſt as various as the ſeverall ſtates of the world are, nay the ſame ſtate admits of often changes many times, ſometimes the people gaines, and ſometimes looſes, ſometimes to its prejudice, ſometimes not; and ſometimes injuriouſly, ſometimes not; but the degrees of ordinary power conſiſt in the making, declaring and inforcing Law, except when forraigne warre is, and then it is expedient that a greater and more extraordinary truſt be repoſed in one, and this we ſee in *Holland*, the moſt exact Republicke, and in *England* the moſt exact Monarchy in the world. But it is a leud conceit of our Royaliſts now adayes to attribute to our King an abſolute power over the *Militia* of this Land at all times alike, not diſtinguiſhing between Civill warres, wherein he may be a party, and ſuſpected; and between a forraigne warre, where he is neither a party nor ſuſpected: for if our Kings will plead ſuch a truſt to our diſadvantage, 'tis juſt that they produce ſome proofe for it, and relye not upon meere Common uſe, 'tis true in caſe of Forraigne invaſion, 'tis expedient that the King be farre truſted, and yet even ſo, if the King ſhould conſpire with forraigne forces, or neglect to protect us againſt them, contrary to the intent of his truſt, we might reſume the common native *Poſſe*, or *Militia* of the Land, for our owne defence without his conſent. And much more reaſonable is it in time of Peace, or Civill warre, if the King will deny his influences, or withdraw his preſence, to obſtruct Law, or will by his Negative voyce, or by force ſeeke to diſable his higheſt Courts and Councels, and reduce all to arbitrary government: more reaſonable is it, that the people ſecure to themſelves the Law, their chiefeſt portion and beſt patrimony. For as the King cannot by Law deny to the people their undoubted intereſt in paſſing of Lawes; ſo neither can he defeat the ſame intereſt, or deſtroy the benefit thereof by miſinterpretations, or by miſ-executions of the ſame Lawes. No Nation can injoy any freedome but by the right and ſhare which it has in the Lawes, and if that right and ſhare doe not extend to the preſervation of Lawes in their true vigour and meaning, as well as to the Creation of them, 'tis emptie and defeaſible at the Kings meere pleaſure, *Much is to be truſted to the King:* true, but all is not (we ſee) truſted, ſome power we ſee is of Neceſſity to be reſerved in free Nations, ſuch as the King allowes us to be, and there is a difference alſo in the word *Truſt:* for there is an arbitrary, and there is a neceſſary *Truſt*, and the one may be reſumed; the other not upon meere pleaſure. Without all queſtion, the wiſer and juſter

Princes

Princes are esteemed, the more the people ever trust them, but this makes no difference in the Legall and fundamentall *Trust* of the Kingdome, nor can infirme credulous, and easie Princes pretend alwayes to the same degree of power as their Ancestors have held, unlesse they can prescribe to their vertues also. Queene *Elizabeth* might with safety, and expedience be trusted further then King *Iames*, even in those things where the Law did not trust her: but this is the misery of subjects, all goes from them, but nothing must returne: The Court of a Prince is like the Lions den in the Fable, all the beasts leave prints and steps *adversum* but none *retrorsum*. But the *Replicant* further assures us, *That tis very easie to assigne the bounds of these severall trusts: for the Lawes and Customes of the Land determine both: nor will his Maiestie* (he saies) *require any new trust to himselfe, or deny any old trust to us*. Our great Divines were to bee admired for their profound knowledge in the mysteries of Law were they not Courtiers: but now the King is presum'd to comprehend *omnia jura in scrinio Pectoris*: and so they by their residence at Court discerne all the secrets of Law and State *in speculo Imperii*, just as our heavenly Saints doe read all things else *in speculo Trinitatis*. Our gravest Sages of the Law are much divided in points of lesse moment and intricacie, and as for the precise metes and bounds, where Soveraignty and Liberty are sever'd, and the direct degrees of publike trust in all cases, and at all times, they looke upon them as grand difficulties, scarce fit to be debated but in the sacred Court of Parliament; and yet Clergie-men think them but the first rudiments of all knowledge, obvious to very A.B.C-*Darians*. They alwayes boast of the knowne Lawes of the Kingdome, in all disputes they referre us to the knowne Lawes and Customes of the Land, as if Judges were things utterly need'lesse, and the study of Law meerely superfluous. The Treshault Court of Parliament, of whose determination our learnedst Judges will not thinke dishonourably, cannot pierce into these known obvious Lawes, and yet every Sophister can: the Fountaines of Justice are now exhausted, and yet the Cisternes remaine full. But saies the Replicant, *If you seeke further security then the knowne Lawes, the people will see, that under the name of free subiects, you take upon you the power of Kings*. Sir, we desire to have our Lawes themselves secured to us, which you may turne like our owne Canons against our selves, if righteous and prudent Judges be not granted us, and all over-awing violence so prevented, as that the fruit of their Iudgements be clearely and entirely conveyed to us. And such securance is not incompatible with Monarchy; for it is no more impeachment to Monarchy, that the people should injoy then make lawes; that they should be sharers in the power of declaring and executing, then in the power of passing & framing lawes; but it is on the contrary an evident impeachment

to

to liberty, if an equality of theſe three Priviledges be not at leaſt ſhared with the people.

3. As for the diametricall oppoſition in Religion and State betwixt us and our irreconciliable enemies of the *Kings* party. The Replicant maintaines divers things: and of the Papiſts and Delinquents he ſayes, *That we have nothing againſt them, but State Calumnies: That the ſame juſtice may governe both, if wee will ſubmit to Law. He beſeeches us to tell what Religion we would have: if that which the Martyrs ſealed with their blood, our Adverſaries practiſe it, and deſire ſevere puniſhment upon all ſuch as tranſgreſſe it: he imputes to us a new Creed: he ſayes the King is to look upon friends or enemies in a Law notion only, that Subjects muſt not give Lawes to Princes courteſies: That our enemies, if they be Traytors, are to be tried at the Kings Bench, the houſe of Commons having no right of Judicature.*

The major part of our enemies are certainly either Papiſts, or elſe ſuch as are either over-awed or outwitted by Papiſts. Tis true, ſome part of our enemies knowes the truth of the Proteſtant Religion, and the deſperate antipathy of Papiſtry; yet having in them the true power of no Religion, but ſerving Mammon only, for their worldly intereſts ſake, (with which ſeverity of Parliaments will not ſquare) they adhere to Papiſts, little regarding what Religion ſtands, or what falls. Another part out of meere ignorance is carried away with the name King, and the Profeſſions of the King, not at all looking into reaſon of State, nor being able to judge of the ſame: but the laſt ſort of men are not ſo conſiderable, either for their number, or power, or malice; and therefore I ſhall not inſiſt upon them.

The maine Engineers in this Civill Warre are Papiſts, the moſt poyſonous, ſerpentine, Ieſuited Papiſts of the world. All the Papiſts in *Europe* either pray for the proſperity of this deſigne, or have contributed ſome other influence and aſſiſtance to it. This warre was not the production of theſe two laſt yeares, nor was *England* alone the field wherein the Dragons teeth were ſowd. *Scotland* was firſt attempted, but the Proteſtant party there was too ſtrong for the Papiſts, and ſuch of the Engliſh as joyned with them. The conſpiracies next broke out in *Ireland*, where the Popiſh party being too ſtrong for the Proteſtants, the Tragedy has been beſeeming Papiſts, it has proved beyond all paralell bloody; and if ſhipping were not wanting, they might ſpare ſome aids for their fellow Conſpirators here in *England*.

England is now in its agony, bleeding and ſweating under the ſad conflict of two parties, equally almoſt poized in force and courage.

The Papiſts themſelves in *England* amount not to the twentieth arithmeticall part of Proteſtants, and yet one papiſt in geometricall proportion may ſtand againſt twenty Proteſtants, conſidering the papiſts with together with their adherents, and conſidering alſo what they are that act over them, and who they are that act under them. What power the Romiſh Vice-god has in the Queen is known, & what power the Queen has in the *King*, and what power the King and Queen have in the prelaticall Clergy, and the Clergy in them reciprocally, and what power the *King*, Queen and Clergy have on a great number of irreligious or lukewarm proteſtants (now made Delinquents and ſo further engaged) as alſo upon all papiſts, & how all theſe have intereſts divided & intwined & how reſtleſly active they al are in purſuing their intereſts is not unkown.

Beſides *Ireland* is a weakneſs; & *Scotland* is no ſtrength to us: all popiſh countries *France*, & *Spain* &c. are likely to annoy us, and the proteſtants in *Denmark*, *Holland* &c. have not power to reſtrain their Princes from combining further againſt us. In this deplorable condition we have no friends to complain to, and yet this Replicant tels us, *we have no enemies to complain of*; our very condoling againſt papiſts and delinquents, he tearms *State calumnies, and ſlanders that have loſt their credit by time, and are confuted by experience.* O thou black mouth, more black then thy coat, haſt thou no more remorſe for all that proteſtant blood, which delinquents have enabled papiſts to ſhed in *Ireland*, and for all that proteſtant blood which armies of papiſts and delinquents are now ready to ſhed in *England*? if all this blood finde no pity in thee, yet is it an offence to thee, that it extorts teares and lamentations from us? O thou unbowelled ſanguinary wretch, if God be the God of proteſtants, he will judge theſe cruelties of papiſts, and their abettors: and if he be the God of papiſts, we know our ſlanders and calumnies cannot deceive him; wee ſubmit our ſelves and our cauſe to his revenging hand. But thou wilt ſay, *the Kings party in this warre are good Proteſtants, and we are Anabaptiſts, &c.* The tyranny and ſuperſtition of Biſhops has driven ſome of our tender and ſtricter proteſtants into utter diſlike of Ceremonies, and that pompous, or rather ſuperſtitious forme of Church diſcipline which has beene hitherto uſed in *England*. Some of us deſire an alteration of ſome things in our Lyturgy, by advice of a learned and uncorrupt Synod: others perhaps ſcruple Church muſick, and any ſet forme of divine ſervice, to be impoſed of neceſſity, liking better the ſingle order of *Scotland*. What new Creed is there in all this, or what change of Religion were this, if there were any great numbers of men ſo opinionated? But it is well enough knowne to

our Adverſaries, that there is not one man of both Houſes of Parliament that is violent againſt all publick ſet formes of prayer, or that forme which is now in uſe, or that deſires any alteration of Doctrine in Eſſentialls, nay nor of Diſcipline, except in things very few and inconſiderable. And it is well knowne that the Parliament, as it would looſen the rigour of Law in ſome ſcruples for the eaſe of tender conſciences, ſo it abhors utterly all licentious government in the Church, and all by-wayes of confuſion. In the City the *King* has inſtanced in *Pennington*, *Venn*, *Foulk*, and *Mannering*, as notoriouſly guilty of Schiſme, and doubtleſſe they were named for want of worſe: try theſe men now by the old Creed, or by the nine and thirty Articles; nay, examine them concerning the Common prayer Book, and it will ſoon appeare how farre they are ſtrayed into Browniſme, or any other Schiſme: it will appeare how they are wounded in ſchiſmatick, and all proteſtants in them, and the true Religion in us all. it may be they have not put pluralities, or the Parliamentary Votes of Biſhops into their Creed; it may be they have reſerved no implicite faith for Convocation acts, and Canons, which the Replicant may perhaps judge very irreligious; but they hope this never had any anathema pronounced againſt it in the old Church by any Councell before Antichriſts dayes. Let not railing paſſe for impleading and condemning, and we will all be tried in the ſame manner, and if any new Creed be found amongſt us, differing in ſubſtance from the old, let our adverſaries themſelves give and execute ſentence upon us. If Browniſts could be as well diſtinguiſht and nominated in our Army, as papiſts are in the *Kings*, or were really as many and as far countenanced, we would diſtruſt our cauſe; whereas we now beg no otherwiſe the bleſſing of God upon our Armies, then as we are enemies both to Popery and Browniſm. Dares our Replicant make ſuch a prayer? no, ſomtimes *he owns Papiſts*, and ſomtimes he ſeemingly *diſowns them*: ſpeaking of the *Kings* party, once he ſaies, *As for the eſtabliſht religion we will become ſuiters to you, that you will ſeverely puniſh all perſons whatſoever that tranſgreſs againſt it*. Papiſts certainly have tranſgreſt againſt our religion; if the rebellion in *Ireland* be a tranſgreſſion, or if the inſtant taking up of arms here againſt the parliament be a tranſgreſſion; yet ſee at the ſame time, when they call us to puniſh the papiſts, they themſelves arm & enable papiſts to puniſh, nay to deſtroy us, is this all the ingenuity we ſhall expect? well, to our law notion: it is argued in the next place, *that a Papiſt fighting for the King, though in a notion of Theology, he may be accounted an enemy* quatenus *a Papiſt, yet in underſtanding of Law, hee was accounted the Kings friend, as to his fighting*: Prieſt ſquires Doctrine juſt, *hee that fights for the King,*

or rather at the Kings command, let the cause be what it will, he is the Kings friend.

When *Saul* gave a furious command to fall upon the Priests of *Iehovah*; amongst all his servants, he had no entire loving freind but *Doeg*: so when his unnaturall rage incited him to take away the life of *Ionathan* the whole Army that defended *Ionathan* were his foes, and if it had proceeded to parties (as it had, if *Saul* had had as many *Idumeans* in his service as King *Charles* now has) those onely which had been the execrable instruments of the Kings Tyranny, had been the Kings friends, and had fought for their King: so those six hundred men which adhered to *David*, out of a pious intent, to preserve his innocent soule from the bloudy hands of *Saul*, and his three thousand impious murderers; and the *Keilites* also, if they had been faithfull to *David* (as they ought to have been) were guilty of Treason and drew their swords against their master. But I expect now that the Replicant insist upon the Iustice of the Kings cause, *as not taking armes to master the Parliament, but to defend themselves against the Parliament*: this if it could be proved, would over-rule all, but it being in question, and as resolutely denied by one side, as affirmed by the other; the Replicant must evince by reason all that he expects to gaine from us. 'Tis not so probable that a Parliament should invade a King, as a King a Parliament: 'Tis not so probable, that a Parliament should be misled, and have ends to enrich it selfe by oppression as a King. 'Tis not so probable, that that Army which consists all of Protestants, should be so adverse to the reformed Religion, as that which admits and favours all Papists and Delinquents: Tis not so probable, that that Army which is raised and payed by Parliament, that is by the flower of all the English Nobility and Gentry, should fight for Arbitrary government, and against propriety, liberty and priviledge of Parliament; as that which hath nothing considerable, but rapine and pillage to maintaine it. If many evidences of facts, many pregnant proofs, and many lively circumstances of time and place, did not absolve the Parliament of trayterous conspiring against the Kings Crowne, Dignity, and person; and convince *Digby*, *Percy*, *Iermin*, and divers of the Kings and Queens party, of conspiring against the priviledges of Parliament, and the lives of many of our nobleſt Pariament men. If all other arguments did faile, the very invitation of *Papists* to the Kings Standard, & the rising of the *Papists* with such generall consent now, that all *Ireland* is almost lost to the papists, and some hopes were else to recover it, would sufficiently assure me, that religion and liberty stand in more danger of the Kings party, than of the parliaments.

I could not with more cleare and cheerfull confidence die for the truth of the proteſtant Religion, then for the Iuſtice of the parliaments cauſe in this warre, *noſcitur ex Comite, &c.* Let the papiſt plead for the Delinquent, and the Delinquent for the papiſt, thoſe ends which have ſo cloſely cemented, and kindly incorporated both together, make a ſufficient diſcovery to me, as well what the papiſt, as what the Delinquent is. And this age muſt prove monſtrouſly unnaturall, in producing a wonder never heard of in all former ages, if Iuſtice doe now reſt on the Kings ſide; For ſurely, no *King* ever till now, having a iuſt cauſe, was oppoſed therein by the maior and better part of his ſubiects; much leſſe was it ever ſeene or heard of, that any King in a iuſt cauſe was deſerted by the maiority of his Orthodox ſubiects, and ſupported by the unanimous aid of ſuch, as hated his true proteſted Religion. God ſend the *King* to lay theſe things ſeriouſly and penſively to heart, for ſince none of his wiſe and worthy Anceſtors ever yet had cauſe to wage war either with the Collective or Repreſentative Body of the *People*: ſo none at all ever in any warre ſided with a falſe Religion, or againſt the true, till this unhappy day; in the King *Charles* is the firſt, and I hope will be the laſt, and therefore this is worthy to make a ſad impreſſion upon his ſoule. But our Replicant will tell us, *That the Kings Iuſtice may yet govern and awe both parties by the ſame Law, whatſoever their antipathy be.* The *King* has Law, and power by the Law to protect the better partie, and to provide for the peace of both parties: But notwithſtanding that Law and that power the poore Britiſh *Proteſtants* in *Ireland* have beene left unprotected, and lamentably expoſed to a generall Aſſaſſination: And had they not beene betrayed by their vaine confidence in the Law, and in the *Kings* protection, they perhaps might have found other meanes to defend themſelves; therefore it is no refuge or comfort to them now, to hear the name of Law proclaimed & reiterated, when as things hapned there, it has been the very ſhelfe and rock whereon the *Proteſtants* have been miſerably bulyed and wricked; then pardon pray, if the ſame name of Iuſtice alſo ſound but harſhly at this time in our eares: when papiſts which have deſtroyed our religion in *Ireland*, are rayſed to preſerve it in *England*; and proteſtants which were ſending ſuccours and ſupplyes into *Ireland*, are in the inſtant invaded here in *England* for the better ſuppreſſion of Popery both here and in *Ireland*; Tis a ſtrange kinde of aſſurance or ioy to us, to ſee the names of Religion, Liberty, and parliamentary priviledge, ſtamped upon our coyne, or interwoven in our Standard, when at the ſame time, we ſee the ſame Coyne impreſted for the entertainment of a *Popiſh* Army:

and the ſame ſtandard marching againſt the repreſentative body of our Nation, and the ſupreame Court of Iuſtice in our State. Nay, and the ſtrange time that is taken for the righting of Religion, Law and Liberty amongſt us, makes our aſſurance, and joy the leſſe triumphant, for we plainely ſee, that as the ſeaſon now is, no one Proteſtant falls here by the Kings ſword; but by the ſame ſtroak three Proteſtants at leaſt are cut off in *Ireland*. And laſtly, the manner of righting Religion, Law and Liberty, is moſt ſtrange of all, for open warre is not now ſufficiently deſtructive, though it be ſpread all over the face of the Kingdom; ſubterranean plots are brooded further in the dark, and by privie intelligence, the whole City of *London* is to be engaged in a tragicall conſpiracy, to murder it ſelfe in one night: What the benefit therefore is of Law and Power, and Iuſtice for the diſabling of Papiſt and Delinquents, and for the ſafeguarding of loyall Proteſtants we all know: But when papiſts and delinquents finde countenance, and the true religion is abandoned, and left obnoxious to miſchiefe by the perverſion of Law, Power and Iuſtice; the names alone will not availe us, but our Replicant further ſaith, *Subjects muſt not give Lawes to Princes courteſies*. In matters of a private nature Princes are abſolute, but not ſo in publike affaires, where the publike ſafety or liberty is touched. In their own pallaces Princes may diſpoſe of Offices, but in the State if they make Patents prejudiciall to their revenues, to their prerogatives, or to the peoples intereſt; the Iudges ſhall pronounce them deceived in their grants, and make the deeds void and null in Law: Princes cannot alien any parcells of their Crowne, *Hull* may not bee transferred to the King of *Denmark*, nor *Portſmouth* to *France*, nor *Falmouth* to *Spaine*, for Kings have no ſole propriety in ſuch things, and the ſame reaſon is in the ſuperintending Offices of Royalty it ſelfe; they are not transferible at pleaſure: Some *Princes* (to uſe the words of *Tacitus*) are ſo infirme and credulous, that they remaine *juſſis alienis obnoxii*, and *non modo Imperii ſed libertatis etiam indigent*, they are ſo enſlaved ſometimes to their baſeſt flatterers, that their very Diadems are as it were aliend and made proſtitute to ſeducers, and theſe their flatterers and ſeducers (in the expreſſions of the ſame *Tacitus*) *Minore metu & majore præmio peccant*.

The unhappy Proteſtants in *Ireland* were of late undone by the vaſt power which was put into the hands of the Earle of *Straffard*, and all the Eccleſiaſticall, if not Civill diſturbances and diſtractions which have of late infeſted theſe three Kingdoms, were in great part raiſed by exceſſe of power over the Church, delegated to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*:

Without

Without doubt when the foundation of *Popery* was firſt to be laid, it did not proſper and advance ſo much in ſixſcore yeers under the firſt Popes, as it did in ſix yeeres here under *Canterbury*: And *Nero* himſelfe in his firſt three yeeres did not attaine to ſo much inſolence and tyranny as *Strafford* did in one yeare.

The Kings freedom therefore in favours will never juſtifie the preferring of ſuch men, to an unqueſtionable command, nor the ſubjecting the lives, liberties, and ſoules of ſo many millions of Religious *Proteſtants* to their corrupted diſaffected wills: Nevertheleſſe, for ought I can ſee we have ſince but changed one *Strafford* for another, and one *Canterbury* for another: Only to ſtop our complaints: This Replicant tell us, *That the courteſies of Princes are not to be queſtioned by ſubjects.* The Queen has now attained to a great heigth of power as formidable as ſhe is to us, in regard of her ſex, in regard of her Nation, in regard of her diſpoſition, in regard of her family, in regard of her Religion, and laſtly, in regard of her ingagments in theſe preſent troubles; ſome think ſhee has an abſolute unlimitable power over the *Kings* ſword and Scepter; which if it bee ſo, no end of our feares and calamities can be, no propoſitions can profit us, no Accommodation can ſecure us. If the King himſelfe were a *Papiſt*, he would yet look upon us as his naturall ſubjects, but when his regall power is ſecondarily in the hands of a *Papiſt*, to that *Papiſt* we appeare but as meere hereticks without any other relation of ſubjects: By ſecondary power alſo, a ſtroak is given with more ſecreſie and ſecurity; ſo that there is the leſſe feare in the party ſtriking to break and retard its violence: It iſſues like a bullet, whoſe line is not direct, but with ſome elevation in the ayre, or with ſome windings in the barrell of the gun, whereby it doth more execution at a further diſtance. Therefore our Kings many and dreadfull Oaths and Vowes of ſincerity in the *Proteſtant* Religion are not ſatisfying, if in the mean time any of his Kingly prerogative bee ſhared with ſuch as are not ſincere in the *Proteſtant* Religion; it were farre ſafer for us that hee would ſweare for his party, then for himſelfe.

But our Replicant will never have done with the Law, hee ſtill tells us, *That every man is to bee tryde by his Peeres the Lords in the Lords Houſe, and the Commons at the Kings Bench, and though the Houſe of Commons have no right of Judicature, yet there is another tryall for Treaſons, and our meane poinct in difference at this time is concerning Treaſon.*

The

The Parliament is nothing elſe but the whole Nation of *England* by its owne free choice, and by vertue of repreſentation united in a more narrow roome, and better regulated and qualified for conſultation then the collective body without this art and order could be. The Lords and Commons make but one entire Court, and this Court is vertually the whole Nation: and we may truly ſay of it, that by its conſent Royalty it ſelfe was firſt founded, and for its ends Royalty it ſelfe was ſo qualified and tempered, as it is; and from its ſupreame reaſon, the nature of that qualification and temperature ought only to be ſtill learnd, and the determination thereof ſought. For who can better expound what Kings and lawes are, and for what end they were both created, then that unqueſtionable power, which for its own advantage meerly gave creation to them both? If *Kings* and nationall lawes had any humane beginning, if they be ἀνθρωπίναι κτίσεις, as the Scripture ſayes they are, they had not their being from themſelves: and from nations collectively taken they could not have their being; for nations ſo are not congregable, nor conſultable, nor redeemable from confuſion (pardon the hardneſſe of words) and therefore it muſt follow, that both *Kings* and laws were firſt formed and created by ſuch bodyes of men, as our *Parliaments* now are; that is, ſuch Councells as had in them the force of whole Nations by conſent and deputation, and the Maieſty of whole Nations by right and repreſentation.

The enemies of *Parliaments* ſeeing this not to be gain-ſaid, and ſeeing that it muſt needs follow, that that cauſe which firſt gave the being, and preſcribed the end of that being, muſt needs have moſt right and skill to limit, and direct the manner of that being: they ſeek to divide the coactive from the repreſentative body of the people: they ſeek to divide between the two houſes of *Parliament*: and theſe ſeek to divide between the head and the body of the *Parliament*. They perſwade the multitude, that they have entruſted the *Parliament* only with their purſes to give away ſubſidies, and repleniſh the *Kings* coffers; but not to ſettle their rights and franchiſes, and to make knowne the bounds of *Prerogative*, and reſtraine the unnaturall encroachments or erruptions of the ſame. If the community have beene agrieved to complaine, or almoſt accuſe, is a ſufficient priviledge of the houſe of Commons, and this, but to avoid further repining, ſhall not be granted them. 'Tis pity that our Doctors doe not ſtudy the Law further; for with a little more induſtry, they might perhaps finde out, that every private man as well as the houſe of Commons, or the whole Community out of *Parliament*, as well as our Knights, and Burgeſſes in it, may

give

give the King money, and if occasion be, preferre an accusation against such a tyrrannicall Lord or favourite; well, if such Rabbies, and expounders can satisfie any of the unworthy vulgar, and some Gentlemen, and Lords who have spirits below the Yeomanry of *England* (for such I have seene too many since 3. *Novemb.* 1640, they shall be no further disabus'd by me. In the next place, *They attempt to work a disunion between the Houses, the Lords shall have a power of Judicature over their Members so they will exclude the Commons from any part therein; and upon condition that they will so farre disclaime them, as to leave them obnoxious for tryalls at the Kings bench*; This sitting of the Lords and Commons in severall Houses, does not prove them severall Courts, nor does the observance of particular Priviledges in either House, and not laying all things common between both, prove any independance of either: doubtlesse they are like the twines of *Hippocrates*, they both must live and die together. In former ages judgement was so given upon the greatest Delinquents, at that the Commons were parties in the judgement: And sure, whilst they were Judges over Lords, themselves were not subjected to inferiour Courts: the Lords then knew they could not indure any indignity to fall upon the Commons being but distinct parts of the same Court, but it would reflect upon themselves; and the Commons knew that the honour of the Lords was an addition to themselves, whilst the *Curiatii* stand close together, their three adverse Combatants are too weake for them; but when they are divided by unwarinesse in the encounter, they prove all three too weake for one of their enemies. I will not make any comparisons, or say whither the Lords or Commons deserted by the other suffer more; I will only say, that nothing but fatall want of policy, can divide or diminish their mutuall love and correspondence.

In the last place, *division also is raised betwixt the King and Parliament*; there is a generation of men which seeke not the good of King and Parliament; nor could prosper if the King and Parliament were united as they ought to be. These men because their suggestions cannot prevaile to alienate the Parliament from the King, apply all their indevours to alienate the King from the Parliament: their perpetuall suggestion are, *That the greatnesse of Kings is eclipsed by Parliaments, That there is in Lawes themselves a kind of enmity, and something that is inconsistant with royalty, That Kings are bound to seek nothing but themselves That Kings can seeke nothing in themselves, so nobly as the satisfying of their wills, e-*

specially

ſpecially when their wills are fixt upon things difficult and forbidden. Nevertheleſſe, there is nothing but falſety in all theſe ſuggeſtions. For Princes are the Creatures, and naturall productions of Parliaments, and ſo are their Prerogatives as has been ſet forth, and every rationall and naturall thing loveth its own off-ſpring, and that love is rather *aſcending* then *deſcending*, it is liker the ſap of the root, then of the branch, viz. *The people are more inclinable to love Princes, then Princes to love the People*; There is likewiſe a neare conſanguinity, and reflexive benevolence of aſpects between Lawes and Princes, they are both of the ſame deſcent, and tend to the ſame end, and both are inviolable. whilſt they are aſſiſtant each to other; the enemy of both has no hope to prevaile, *Si attribuat Rex legi, quod lex attribuit ei.* Tis retrograde alſo to nature, that Princes whom God has ſet to feed his people, and not without the creation of the people, ſhould think themſelves more valuable then that people; or that they ſhould confine their thoughts to themſelves as Gods, deſpiſing the univerſality, when God has called particular ſubjects *their brethren, and forbidden them to lift up their hearts above any of them.*

Laſtly, that Princes which have as other men, ſinfull affections, and are ſubject more then other men to ſinfull temptations, and are accountable to God therefore, in a higher degree then other men, ſhould think it inglorious to deny their own irregular wills, and to ſubmit to Lawes, Parliaments, and the Publike prayers and advice of their ſubjects, 'tis a thing ſcarce credible. The moſt expert Navigator preferres the guidance of his Needle before his own conceit; the moſt tried Engineer wholly relies upon the certainty of his rule. All Artiſts how rare ſoever apply themſelves to their Inſtruments, abſolutely renouncing their skill and experience in compariſon of Mechanick directions. Only Princes chuſe rather to erre with their own fancies and fancy feeding flatterers, then to go right with publick advice, and no miſchiefe, which can happen to themſelves, and millions of others by their error, ſeems ſo unkingly to be ſuffered, as a retractation from error. But our Replicant has more particular objections againſt Parliaments, *As firſt, That they have no cognizance of matters of State: ſecondly, That in matters of grace and pardon they have no power or right: the King in theſe, has an Arbitary ſole authority.*

Lawes ayme at *Juſtice*, Reaſon of ſtate aimes at *ſafety*; Law ſecures one ſubject from another, Law protects ſubjects from inſolence of Princes, and Princes from ſedition of Subjects, ſo far as certaine rules may be gi-

ven

ven and written; but reaſon of State goes beyond all particular formes and pacts, and looks rather to the being, then well-being of a State, and ſeeks to prevent miſchiefe forraign as well as Domeſtick, by emergent Counſels, and unwritten reſolutions. Reaſon of State is ſomething more ſublime and imperiall then Law: it may be rightly ſaid, that the Stateſman begins where the Lawyer ceaſeth: for when warre has ſilenced Law, as it often does; Policy is to bee obſerved as the only true Law, a kind of a dictatorian power is to be allowed to her; whatſoever has any right to defend it ſelfe in time of danger is to reſort to policy in ſtead of Law, and it is the ſame thing in the Replicant, *To deny to Parliaments recourſe to reaſon of State in theſe miſerable times of warre and danger, as to deny them ſelf-defence.*

Many men, eſpecially Lawyers, would fain have Law alone take place in all times, but for my part I think it equally deſtructive to renounce reaſon of State, and adhere to Law in times of great extremity, as to renounce Law, & adhere to Policy in times of tranquillity. Nothing has done us more harme of late, then this opinion of adhering to Law only for our preſervation: & the King and his party though they are too wiſe themſelves to obſerve Law at all, yet have wrought much upon the ſimpler ſort of our ſide by objecting againſt us neglect of Law. Certainly as our dangers now are, it would bee good for us to adde more power to the Earle of *Eſſex* (if he be thought the worthieſt man of Truſt amongſt us, as he has deſerved no leſſe eſtimation) for till I ſee him lookt upon, and ſerved as a temporary Dictator, and the bounds of his Commiſſion to bee only this; *ne quid detrimenti capiat Reſpublica cavere*: I ſhall never think the Parliaments ſafety ſufficiently provided for.

To frame any Arguments, or reaſons, or to offer prooſes, that the Repreſentative body of the Kingdome is a Counſell of State, rather then a Court of Juſtice, would ſhew me as fooliſh as the Replicant: 'tis impoſſible any man ſhould doubt of it, that does think the being is to bee preferred before the well being; or that whole Nations have any intereſts either in their owne being or well being. Let our Adverſaries triumph in their owne conceits, and when in the ſame caſe there is both matter of Law and State (as in the caſe of *Hull*, where the King had an intereſt rather in State then Law) let them upbraid us for declining of Law: I ſhall like that beſt which they diſlike moſt in us: I wiſh we had not obſerved Law too farre, for they would never ſo farre recommend

mend it to us, did they not know it might be ſometimes unſeaſonable.

As for acts of grace and pardon. I ſhall not much quarrel thereabout, the Parliament can beſt adviſe the King how far it is fit to paſſe a Law of obliyion in theſe generall times of confuſion: And the Anſwerer of the *London* Petition affirmed nothing, but that their adviſe therein was likely to be moſt wholſome, which can hardly be contradicted.

And the Law is cleare enough that though the execution of Law be farre intruſted to the King, and there is a diſpenſing power in Him, ſo farre as he is ſuppoſed to be damnified or to be intereſted in the penalty; yet where crimes have been committed againſt the whole State, the King ought not, and where particular men have been injured, the King cannot ſuffocate, fruſtrate, or deny Juſtice. 'Tis againſt his Oath, 'tis againſt publike Liberty to deny ſatisfaction by ſtopping execution.

4. *But London is the moſt conſiderable part of the Kingdome and the Petitioners the beſt part of London; and the moſt to bee valued in other parts, are inclined to the ſame requeſt for peace, therefore the Parliament ought to yeeld.*

When our Adverſaries pleaſe, they can alledge numbers for their advantage, as if the Major part of the people were cordially on the Kings ſide: when they pleaſe they can give you reaſons why the major part of the people are inchanted, and therfore cannot be on the Kings ſide; yet we all know the major part cannot be both for and againſt the King at the ſame time in the ſame caſe. Beſides divide *England* into 3. parts, and we doe not allow *London* to be the major of thoſe three, and divide *London* into 3. parts, and the Petitioners cannot make it appear, that they are full one third part; this muſt be attributed to our Replicants boldneſſe meerly. That which is manifeſt, is, that moſt of the faulty, and decayed Nobility, and Gentry, are of the Kings party, and ſo are the Lees of the people; but almoſt all of the Yeomenry (which is the moſt conſiderable ranke of any Nation) and a very choyſe part both of Nobility and Gentry at this time ſide againſt the King and the Papiſts: And it is impoſſible for any rationall man to imagine, that the King has not infinite advantages againſt the Parliament, if his cauſe be generally apprehended, as the more juſt: But ſenſe teaches us the contrary, that no King in the unjuſteſt cauſe that ever was, had a weaker party then this King, conſidering what courſes he has taken. The King has an Army, and ſuch an Army as is able to force and overawe

all

all places where they lye, with ſwords drawne over the Peſants: but curſed be that man for my part, that next after God, would not referre the arbitration of this difference to the publike vote of the people. And yet we know that there is a great deal of ſervilty in the people, and that for the moſt part, they looke no further then to preſent grievances; like *Eſau* in his Pottage bargain, chuſing rather to dy for ever of a Lethargy then to ſweat for a time under a Feaver.

5. All Controverſies are determined either by the Dye of Force, and chance of War (for ſo Nations have ever cenſur'd that kind of tryall) or elſe they are concluded by Lawes juſtly interpreted, or elſe there is a middle way (which we call Accommodation) and that is commonly when to avoid the miſchiefe of the Sword, and the uncertaine intricacie of Judgement, both parties by mutuall agreement condeſcend equally to depart from the rigor of their demands on either ſide, and ſo comply, accommodate, and meet together upon termes as equall as may be. Wherſoever then the word *Accommodation* is preſſed, (as it is now with us in the *London* Petition, for the word Submiſſion is not at all uſed) 'tis moſt abſurd and contradictory to exclude a yeelding and compliance of both ſides. See then the manifeſt unjuſtice of our Replicant, who when the matter of *Accommodation* onely is in Treaty, *yet urges us to a meere ſubmiſſion*, and taking it for granted that he is Judge, and that he has determined the matter for the King; *therfore the King ought not to condeſcend, or comply at all, or leave any thing to the Parliaments truſt, but muſt wholly be truſted in every point.*

6. The King requires to have preſerved to him for the future that compaſſe of Royall power which his Progenitors have been inveſted with, and without which he cannot give protection to his Subjects.

The Parliament deſires to have preſerved to the Subject, peace, ſafetie, and all thoſe priviledges which their Anceſtors have enjoyed, without which they cannot be a Nation, much leſſe a free Nation. Now the Militia and Poſſe of the Kingdome muſt be ſo placed, and concredited, and that the King may be as equally aſſured of it, as the Parliament, or elſe without all Accommodation the King muſt be left to the Fidelity and duty of Parliament, or elſe the Parliament muſt be wholly left to the Kings diſcretion, or rather to the Kings party. In this caſe what ſhall be done, the Parliament pleads that the King has reſigned him-

himſelfe too far into the hands of Papiſts and Malignants, from whom nothing can be expected but perfidie and cruelty; The King objects that the Parliament is beſotted with Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, Familiſts, and Impoſtors, from whom nothing can be expected but diſloyalty and confuſion. If the King here will grant any ſecurity againſt Papiſts and Malignants, the queſtion is what ſecurity he will give; and if hee will give none, the queſtion is how he can be ſaid to ſeeke an Accommodation; ſo on the contrary, if the Parliament will undertake to ſecure the King, as that is granted, then what muſt that ſecurance be. I will now take it for granted, that the King ought to abjure for the future the giving of countenance to Papiſts, or being counſeiled or led by them in State matters; as alſo to disband his Forces, and that the Parliament will doe the like, and abjure all dangerous Schiſmaticks and Hereticks. But for a further tye to ſtrengthen this abjuration, and for a ſecurance againſt Malignants, who are not yet ſo perfectly diſtinguiſht on either ſide, what ſhall be the reciprocall caution or ingagement? Shall the King have all Ports, Ships, Armes, and Offices in his diſpoſe? Shall the King aſſigne to what Judges he pleaſes, the diviſion of our quarrels? or ſhall he truſt his Parliament in the choiſe and Approbation of perſons intruſted? I will not diſpute this, I will onely ſay, that the nature of an *Accommodation* requires ſome condeſcendingnion both ſides, and it is manifeſt injuſtice in the Replicant to prejudge the ſame, as unbeſeeming the King more then the Parliament, and in all probability the Parliament is likely to condeſcend upon more diſadvantageous termes then the King; and is leſſe lyable to be miſled, and leſſe apt to break a truſt, then any one man.

7. *To ſhew that the Parliament is diſaffected to an Accommodation, and the King not, & that therefore a Petition to the Parliament is more proper & ſeaſonable then to the King.* The Replicant *bitterly revils the Parliament as having puniſhed ſome for ſeeking peace, and as having rejected the Kings gracious offers of peace with termes of incivilny below the reſpect due to a King.* What more damnable crimes can any man load the Parliament with, then with rebelling againſt the King firſt, & after rejecting officers of peace with foule and ſcandalous language? *Yet this the Replicant freely grants to himſelfe*, and as if hee were placed in ſome tribunall above the Parliament, where all allegations and proofes were utterly ſuperfluous, *he proceeds to ſentence very imperiouſly.* For ought I know I am as venerable and unqueſtionable a judge in this caſe as hee is, yet I dare con-

condemn nothing, but rash and presumptuous condemning of authority without prooses; and for that I have Scripture it selfe for my proose. As for the Kings comming to *Brainford* in a mist, and during a Treaty, and there surprising men unprepared, and retiring againe upon the drawing up of our forces, that these are instances of seeking peace, and shewing favour to the city is not so cleare to my understanding as to the Replicants.

8. But sayes the Replicant, *you grant that the people may perhaps find out a better way of Accommodation* then you have *done, and you allow them to petition when you faile of your duty: And this must needs overthrow the strongest and most popular argument of your innocence, and authority.*

The Parliament did never assume to have an absolute freedome from all failes or Errors, nor does detract from other mens knowledge, it vindicates nothing more then to bee lesse obnoxious to deceit and perverseneſſe then other Courts, and that the rather because it disdaines not any advise or reason from any parties whatsoever.

9. The Answerer demanded from the Petitioners a modell of an *Accommodation* to bee framed by them, for the better help and instruction of the Parliament. The Replicant satisfies that Demand. Hee makes two propositions thus; 1 *That the Parliament shall as readily consent to the Kings Rights as the King consents to theirs.* 2. *That the Reigne of Queen* Elizabeth: *may be the measure to determine those rights.* In this the Replicant is very reasonable; for we freely submit to both his propositions: but he is not so Politick as he thinks; for a submission to these generall propositions, will not determine any one of our Particular debates. Let us be safe, as wee were in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, and let us be secured of our safety by the same meanes, as Queen *Elizabeth* secured us; That is, by shewing no countenance to Papists (much lesse admitting them as Counsellors, least of all as Governors in her highest Councells) let wise men generally loved and revered sit at the Councell Table, and let the Publick advise of Parliament sway above all private; let our Lawes be in the Custody of learned, and uncorrupt Iudges, and let our *Militia* be under the Command of such renowned Patriots, as shee preferred in her dayes; and our *Accommodation* is more ample, and beneficiall, then any we have yet desired. But our Replicant will suggest, *Be you such Subjects as Queen* Elizabeth *ruled*, and *King* Charles

Charles *will treat you, as* Queen Elizabeth *did her Subjects: doe you right first to the King and the King will not faile to doe right to you.* Here is now the maine Queſtion indeed, which rightly ſolved, would ſolve all, whether theſe deplorable miſeries, which have of late vexed and grieved our three Nations, have rather hapned from the Change of the People, or from the Change of the Prince.

And moſt certaine it is future Ages will conceive no great doubt, or difficulty to be in this Queſtion: but now it is mortall to diſpute it: it is ſcarce lawfull to ſuppoſe any thing herein, Though *ſupponere* be not *ponere* but by way of ſuppoſition, I will only plead thus: if the three Nations have by I know not what fatall poſture, and Congreſſe of ſtars, or ſuperior Cauſes, declined from their allegiance, and degenerated into unnaturall obſtinacy, and turned recreant, and contrary to the ſweet *Genius*, which was ever in their Anceſtors, they are bound to ſubmit to the King & to put in him as full and abſolute a Truſt, as our Parents did in Queen *Elizabeth*: but on the contrary, if miſcarriages in government, and the pernicious Counſells whereby our Princes have been guided, have overwhelmed us in theſe inundations of blood, and miſchiefes; the Alteration, and Reformation, ought to begin firſt in the King, and He cannot expect that we ſhould truſt him ſo farre as we did Queen *Elizabeth* untill we are aſſured as fully of his protection as we were of Queen *Elizabeths*; but ſuppoſe there have been faults on both ſides, can nothing but the ſword rectifie our faults? I never yet heard that any Prince was forced to a warre with any conſiderable part of his own Subjects, but that he had an unjuſt cauſe, or might have determined the ſtrife without bloud by ſome Politick Complyance if he pleaſed. It is not ſo common or probable in nature, for Nations cauſleſly to rebell, as for Princes wickedly to oppreſſe: and when armes are taken up on both ſides, it is not ſo ſafe for Subjects to yeeld, as for Kings; nor can Subjects ſo eaſily reduce Kings to a peaceable agreement, and ceſſation of Armes, as Kings may Subjects for the ſparing of bloud. Kings can make no compoſition almoſt diſhonourable, or diſadvantagious; but Subjects being falne into the indignation of revengfull Princes are neceſſitated commonly to this choyce, either to come forth with halters about their necks, or to fight upon great diſadvantages. as Rebellious as the Subjects of *Rehoboam* were, a kind, nay, a Civill Anſwer might have retayned them in their allegiance, and

and yet if their terms had been full of insolence, and their Capitulations more unreasonable, yet *Salomon's* Councellors would have perswaded *Rehoboam* to yeild to necessity, and to master that multitude by some fineness of wit, which he could not Tame for the present by violence; And certainly he shewed not himself the Son of *Salomon*, that would not purchase an hereditary Empire over a gallant Nation by being a Servant for one day, that would quit his own policy, because the multitude had quitted their civilitie, that thought that Complyance which should gaine a scepter more dishonourable, than that Contestation which should absolutly forfeit one. How easy had it been for the great, the wise, the terrible *Philip* of *Spaine*, to have prevented the totall defection of so many goodly Provinces in the *Netherlands*: and if it could not have been done without something which is ordinarily accounted below a K. would not that have been more honourably done by him, then the casting away of so brave a Dominion, and the casting after that so much blood & treasure? That King of *France* was far wiser, and sped better, which satisfied himselfe in his strugling through many difficulties with this Maxime, That a Prince can loose no honour by any Treaty, which addes to his Dominion. Infinite instances might here bee alleadged, but they are needlesse. God send our King truly to represent these things to himselfe, and rather to trust plain, then pleasing advice. God open his eyes, that he may see how honorably, and easily he might heve preuented these calamities, and may yet stanch our bleeding wounds, and how much more difficult it is and unsafe for the Parliament to compose things unlesse he or rather his Party be equally disposed to hearken to peace. *Henr.* the 4. was as wise, as valiant, and as just a Prince as ever was Crowned in *England*, and no Prince ever had by experience a more perfect understanding of the English Genius: yet he in his death bed (where dissimulation uses to be laid aside) in his last advice to his own son and heire (whom it was not likely he would willingly deceive) deciphered the English Nation to be generally observant of their Princes, and whilst they were well treated, and preserved in Peace and plenty, most incomparable for their perfect inviolable loyalty, but of all nations the most unquiet under such a harsh rule, which should render them servile, poore and miserable.

This he had abundantly prooved, and found true by the wofull deposition of his unpolitick Kinsman and predecessor *Rich.* the 2.

and his own prosperous, and glorious Raigne, and many strange traverses of Fortune, which throughout his whole Raigne. He was forced to encounter withall. His scope therefore was to recommend to his sons charge this Nation both as dutiful, and as generous, of whose loyalty he needs not to doubt, so long as his Iustice was not to be doubted. O that this most Excellent Prince could bee againe summoned from his peacefull Monument to repeate the same advertisements in our Soveraignes eares, and to justle out of his presence these bloud thirsty Papists and Malignants, which use all possible art to staine the peoples loyalty, and to candy over all his actions, intending thereby not to reconcile the people by procuring grace from the King, but to confound both King and people, by fostering enmity between both? I will only adde this by such instigations, as our Replicant and his fellow Courtiers use, the King cannot be happy, but by the uncertainty of war, that is by making his subjects miserable: but such Traytors as I am, if our advise bee entertained, propose to the King a more certaine way to happinesse by Peace that is by making his subjects yet more happy; but our Replicant saith, *the King is willing to condescend to any thing, but you will admit of no reconciliation, except the King will remove those servants, whom he had found most honest and faithfull in his afflictions, and prefer you undeserving in their place.* Here is the grand knot indeed, we oppose such as have been the Counsellors or instruments of such and such designes: *the King, saith, they are his friends, and he cannot abandon his friends:* 'tis confest, the King ought not to abandon his friends, but the King may erre in the knowledge of friends: and as he ought to protect his friends, in whom he cannot err; so he is not bound to protect such as he meerly thinks his friends, and in whom if he will beleeve the voyce of the people, he is very much deceived. We have as much interest in the Kings friends and Counsellors as we have in our Laws, Liberties, lives, any thing, for we know we can enjoy nothing if the King shall owne those for his friends, whom we know to be our enemies, and account of these as good Counsells, which we know to be treasons against the State, that Prince that will be arbitrary and rely upon his owne meer opinion, and discretion in the imployment of Counsellors and Ministers of State, having no regard to publique approbation therein, is as injurious altogether as he that will admit of no other Law, judge, nor rule

in

in the propriety and liberty of his subjects, but his owne brest only.

It will be replyed, not fancy, but sense teaches this, that he that obeyes the Kings commands, and fights under the Kings Standart is more a friend than he that disobeyes, and fight against the King: this is demonstration, no error can be in it.

I answer no, 'tis most false, Scripture and reason manifest it to be most false.

Doeg did obey *Saul*, when all his other servants denyed obedience, yet even in that obedience he made himselfe culpable, and his master abominable, whereas the other servants of *Saul* were dutifull in withholding an unlawfull duty.

So those 3000 Souldiers which marched out after *Saul* to take away the life of just and uncondemned *David*, they were instruments in a base disservice to *Saul*, they are not to be justified for this service; whereas those 600 valiant men which accompanied *David* in his dangers and afflictions and were ready with their sword drawn to guard that innocence, which *Saul* himself should have guarded are not to be accounted false to *Saul* but true to *David*.

And the meere presence of *Saul* on the one side, did not make the cause unjust on the other side, nor if himself had fallen by rushing oftentimes, upon defensive weapons, could that horrid guilt of his death, have been imputed to any but to himself. Cursed therefore, yea thrice cursed be these miscreants, which ingage the King in this war against the Parliam not without hazard of his sacred Person, if they be private persons and have not sufficiency to decide this great controversie betwixt the King and Parliament.

For my part I dare not pronounce sentence, neither for nor against the Parliament, as the Replicant without all scruples doth in all places; but I may safely say, that if the King does, though in person, unjustly wage war against the Parliament; the E. of *Essex* and his Army may far more lawfully fight in defence of that supreame Court, than *David* and his followers did for the protection of one innocent private man.

And taking the controversie as undecided, 'tis not apparent who fight for or against the King, and the King may himself as lawfully claime to be sole supreme judge over all single and universal persons, and over all Laws and Courts, and in all cases whatsoever, as to claime any man a Traitor for serving the Parliament in this war; and this if he claimes, what Priviledge remaines to Parliament, what

limits remaine to the Prince: what liberty remains to the Subjects?

'Tis not only then trayterous, but ridiculous in the Replicant to assume that supremacy to himself, which is denyed to the King by condemning the Parliament and justifying the Kings party in all passages of this War, we when we except against the Kings party, asperse not at all the Kings person, and the Law it self makes ever a distinction betwixt the King and his agents: though our Replicant will not allow any such severance: but betwixt the Parl am. and its instrumen's no such severance is except for the worse, for there *pejor est author quam actor*, but sayes the Replicant. *'Tis the unhappinesse of the King that he hath a party, 'tis the fault of the Parliament, he desires and ought to have the whole.* See here 'tis the Parliaments fault that *Percy*, *Digby*, *Winter*, *Mountague*, *Crofts*, *Killegrew*, and many other of the Queens devoted Creatures are preferred in the Kings favour before the Parliament. And 'tis the Parliaments fault, that *Rivers*, *King*, and the Titular Court of the *Palatinate* with some other Irish Papists lately come over have the honour of the Court, command of the Camp, and spoyle of the Kingdom to reward them, whilst *Manchester*, *Hambden*, *Hollis*, *Pim*, *Strod*, *Haselrig*, are designed for the Block, and that upon such charges, as shall intangle almost all the most eminent Gentry and Nobility, as well as them, *That this is the Kings unhappinesse is aggreed*, but that this is the Parliaments fault is not proved by the Replicant, and we are not bound alwayes to abate him proofes in matters of this consequence. Doubtlesse we are likely to expect great performances from Parliaments hereafter if it shall be guilt in them that they are rejected, and if they shall be rejected only because other more favoring Courtiers pretend better affection to the Kings private advantage.

The actions of Popish and Malignant Courtyers, cannot represent them more friendly to the King than the Parliaments. No honour or prosperity has followed hitherto thereupon: all their diffidence is that their single professions of Love are more credited, than such as are credited by the Votes of the Generality, and attestations of Parliament.

Howsoever though many men do think, private advise and testimony, to be more valuable, and fit for Princes to hearken too, then publick, I never till now heard, that it was a fault or blame in Parliaments to be less valued or accepted then private persons.

To

To what purpose is it said? *that the King ought to have the whole:* it is our complaint that the King will not accept of the whole: and it is the Replicants complaint, that the King is not suffered to injoy the whole. This shall reconcile all: let the whole be received as the whole; and every part as it is Major, or Minor be entertained in grace and equipage proportionably, and this difference is composed.

10 But sayes the Replicant, *the Kings party is the more just, and therefore to be preferred, and this is to be judged of by rule; as thus, the Parliament intrenches upon our Liberty by imprisoning without cause, according to pleasure and claimes to be unquestionable therein: The Parliament intrenches upon Religion by committing our best Professors, and planting Sectaries in their stead, the Parliament proceeds according to reason of State, not Law: and this places an arbitrary power in them, and makes ordinances equall to acts of Parliament.*

Heare in a breif summe all that ever has been spoken, or can be spoken against the Parliament; and all this is grounded upon an ungranted proposition, that the Parliament has no right to defend it self: For if it be lawfull for both Houses of Parliament to defend themselves, it must of necessity follow, that they may and must imprison, levye moneyes, suppresse seditious preachers, and make use of an arbitrary power according to reason of State, and not confine themselves to meere expedients of Law. Enough has been said of this, 'tis impossible that any wise man should be opposite herein, and the Kings party have more recourse to reason of State, and arbitrary power by far than we have.

But if it be said, *that the Houses* abuse arbitrary power in imprisoning, levying moneyes &c. causelessly; this is a false calumny, and not to be granted without particular and pregnant proofes, of which the Replicant produces none at all, were it not for this great noise and boast of Arbitrary power, our Academians would want matter to stuffe their innumerable pamphlets withall: and the sillyer sort of Malignants would want fuell to feed their enmity.

And yet we know, Arbitrary power is only dangerous in one man or in a few men, and cannot be so in Parliaments at any time; much lesse in times of publick distresse: for then it is not only harmless but necessary.

The House of Commons without the other States hath had an arbitrary power at all times, to dispose of the treasure of the Kingdome, and where they give away one subsidy, they may give 20

and where they give 50000l at one subsidy they may give fifty times so much, and all this whether war or peace be.

Yet when did either King or Subject complaine of this arbitrary power? Nay if any parts of the Kingdom have repined at the abuse of this arbitrary power, and refused to pay subsidys assessed by the house of Commons, what Kings would suffer it? when was it not held a good ground of War? so both Houses have an arbitrary power to abridge the freedom of the Subject, and to inlarge the Kings prerogative, beyond a measure; they may repeale our great Charter, the Charter of Forrests, and the petition of right if they please, they may if they please subject the whole Kingdom for ever to the same arbitrary rule as *France* grones under, nay, & they have often been with force and all manner of sollicitations almost violented into it: and yet notwithstanding all this, we are neither terrifyed nor indangered at all by this arbitrary power in both houses.

To have then an arbitrary power placed in the Peers and Comm. is naturall and expedient at all times, but the very use of this arbitrary power, according to reason of State, and warlick policy in times of generall dangers and distresse is absolutely necessary and inevitable: but 'tis a great offence, *that both Houses should make ordinances generally binding.*

They, which would take from us all meanes of defence; if they could dispute us out of the power of making temporary Ordinances had their wils upon us, for defence without some obliging power to preserve order, and to regulate the method of defence, would be vaine and absurd; but this is but one branch of arbitrary power and reason of State, and to wast time in proving it necessary in times of extremity, if defence be granted lawfull, were childish and ridiculous.

I have now done with the Replicant, so far as he hath spoken to the matter, I shall now come to his emergent, strange, calumnious speeches, against the persons of such and such men, but this were *Caninos rodere dentes.* I forbeare it, only rehearsing some raylings, which need no answer but themselves.

The two houses are generally railed at, *as guilty of Rebellion against the King.* All adherents to Parliament are railed at, *as Anabaptists, Separatists, &c.* The Lord Major is railed at, for preventing bloudshed in the City, when the Petitioners under the pretence of seeking for Peace, had many of them plotted dissention, and this his Office is *stiled the stiffling of peace in the womb.*

The

The City Preachers are railed at, for ſatisfying our Conſciences in the juſtifiableneſſe of a defenſive war, for this they are charged to *fight againſt the King in the feare of God, and to turn the ſpirituall Militia into weapons of the fleſh.* The framer of the Anſwer is rayled at for giving the Petitioners juſt ſatisfaction in peaceable language. *Though his words be confeſſed to be ſofter than oyle,* yet 'ts ſaid, *that the poyſon of Aſpes is under his lips;* he is called a *Cataline, the firebrand of his Countrey, whoſe ſophiſtry and eloquence was fit to diſturbe a State, but unable to compoſe or ſetle it.*

The judgment of all theſe things is now ſubmitted to the world, what the intent of the Petition was, in ſome maſter-plotters and contrivers of it, will appeare by the arguments of this fell Replicant. Whereby it is now ſeconded. That the name of an Accomodation was pretended to force the two Houſes under colour therof, to caſt themſelves upon a meer ſubmiſſion, or to be made odious, and lookt upon as foes to peace, which was *Scilla* on one ſide, and *Charybdis* (on the other) is here manifeſted. Whether the Anſwer to the Petition favour of ſo much malice and enmity to peace, as this Replication does, let indifferent men cenſure,

Laſtly, whether the ſoule of that man which thirſts for a firme Peace, may not diſlike theſe practiſes of pretending to it; and the ſoule of that man which hates peace, may not make advantage of the name of peace, let all wiſe men proved and examine.

FINIS.

THE LATE FAMOUS VICTORY:

OBTAINED BY CAPTAINE LANGLEY a Scottsman January 29. with his troope of Horse, against Colonell Aston with 3 Troops, who had bin pilliging the County of Barke-shire, and had taken 150. Sheepe, 5. Cart-load of Hay, and a Hundred Quarters of Wheat, and Barley, and were carring them to READING.

Declaring also the the full discription of the said Batle which was fought upon Sunday, last, within two miles of *Reading*; And and how after two houres fight Cap. *Langley* obtained the Victory, wounded Sir *Iacob Astley* Sergiant Major generall of the Kings Army, and about 30. other Commanders and Souldiers slain; and tooke the Hundred and fifty Sheepe, and five Cart-loads of Hay, and a Hundred quarters of Corne, and have brought them to *Henley* for the Souldiers.

WHEREUNTO IS ADDED,

A true relation of the taking of the High-Constable of *Oxford shire* a great Malignant, and twelve Countrie people by Captaine *Ballard*, Captaine of a Troope of Horse, under Sergiant Major *Skippon*, upon Sunday last, being the 29 of *January*; Wherein is declared the great policie of the said Captaine, in taking of the said prize, and how he brought them to HENLEY

Jan: 31 1642.

London, Printed for *Thomas Rider*. 1643

VICTORY

A Famous

VICTORY

Obtained by Captaine LANGLEY, A Scotsman, IANVARY 29. 1643.

THe Fidilitie, and truth, of that famous Worthy Captaine *Langley*, Captaind of a Troope of horse; was never so evidently and aparently known as now it is; for upon *Sunday* last, being the twentie nine of this instant moneth of IANVARY, 1643.

he advanced out of *Henley* with his Trooqe of Horſe, being in number 60. and 12. where comming within two miles of *Reading*, he met with 3. Troopes of the Kings horſes who had bin pillaging of the County, and had taken 100. and 50. ſheepe, 5 Cart Load of hey, and neere upon 10x. quarter of Barley, and Wheat, and being within halfe a mile of them, about one mile diſtant from *Waldgrave* he made this following ſpeech to his Souldiers.

Moſt noble and undanted Gentlemen I have ſome few words to declare unto you in breife for the encouragement of you all againſt tois enemy that we are going to encounte which you ſee that they have got a great booty both of hey, Corne and ſheep, not manfully but couardly therefore ſpirits as you have heretofore adventured, with direction and policy to winne your HONOVR,

ſo

so now let it be your chiefest care, by displaying your manhood to repaire this booty from them, and to bring so great a title of honour upon us all and as I have often declared unto my word to you, so I do now, that I will never leave you. so long as any bloud doth runn through my veines; and therefore now Gentlemen, let us not delay time, but advance towards them wher you shall see that through Gods blessing we shall soone obtaine a glorious victory over them; he had not sooner speake these words; but they with most valient acclamations, cryed out fall on, fall on, so we will live and die with nou, whereupon he marched forwards, and gave them battle, where they enconntered the Kings troops, and after halfe an hours fight corporall *Douglas* a Scotish man recoverd the wagons that was laden with Wheat & barley, and the sheepe, and he tooke two cart loades of Hay,

together with the Teames that drew them, and as before they went to Bade they had brought about thirty men from *Walgrave*, to drive away those goods which they tooke, whilest they were in Skirmish, they performed their trust very well, and brought the Carts, Waggons, and Sheepe, within one mile of *Henley*: during this time, our Troope was very hot in Skirmish, and did most gallant execution upon the enemy; killing their Sergiant Major Generall of the horse, and about thirty more, and so after one hours fight, the Kings forces retreated to *Reading*. And Captaine *Langley* advanced towards *Henley*, where he overtooke his booty and brought them to Capt. *Holbert*, Capt. over the blew-coates, and to Livtenant Colonell *Burroughs*, of the Red-coates, which were a great encouragment to all the Souldiers; and the said Captaine is resolved to goe out every

very day to adventure his person for the bringing in of provision.

Upon Sunday last Captaine *Ballard* with his Troope of horse Consisting of about a hundred advanced from *Henley* upon Thames and went to a Town called *Nettlebed* where the High Constable of OXFORD shire lived, who handled much for the King, the said Captaine at his first comming into the Towne, enquired for the high Constables house, & at his comming thither he asked for the Constable, his servants said he was gone a hunting, the said Captaine *Ballard*, in a brave politik way, made as though he was one that stood for the King, so got out of the servants what he could, & saying that he was a Perliament Rogue, the servants replying that their master had done much for the King, and had gathered a summe of money consisting of 12000.l. and after some discourse passed, he ridde

to

the Constable accommodating with all respect, the Constable declaring unto him that he was going to OXFORD with 12000.l. to the King, desiring the said Captaine that he would be pleased to ride to his house and he should see the same, which he did accordingly, and the said Captaine set a guard about the house whilest he went in accompanied with 12. of his Troopers where he seized upon the Constable and his money and brought them to *Henley* where they now are as yee.

FINIS.

ACTS

FOR

The utter abolishing of Bishops out of the Churches of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND.

WITH

A Motion to the House for the Order for Church-Government by a better Way.

LONDON, 1642

Printed for *Thomas Watson*. 1643.

ACTS

BOOK

The later abolishing of Bishops out of the Churches of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND.

WITH

A Motion to the House for the Order for Church-Government by a better Way.

LONDON, 1692

Printed for Thomas Malpas, 1692.

The Act of the generall Assembly in Scotland for the abolishing of Bishops in that Kingdome.

THe Kings Majestie having declared, that it is his Royall will and pleasure, that all questions about Religion and and matters ecclesiasticall, be determined by the Church: having also by publique Proclamation indicted this free Nationall Assembly, for setling the present distractions of this Church; and for establishing a perfect peace, against such divisious and discords, as have been sore displeasing to his Majestie, and grievous to all his Majesties good subjects, And now his Majesties Commissioner *John E.* of *Tragnair*, instructed and authorized with s full Commission, being present and sitting in this Assembly, now fully conveened; and orderly constitute, in all the members thereof, according to the order of this Church, having at large declared his Majesties zeal to the reformed Religion; and his Koyall care, and tender affection to this Church; (where his Majestie had both his Birth and Baptisme) his great displeasure at the manifold distractions and divisions of this Church and Kingdome, and his desire to have all our wounds perfectly cured, with a faire and fatherly hand. And although in the way approved by this Church, tryall hath bin taken in former Assemblies before from the Church Registers to our full satisfaction. Yet the Commissioner making a particular inquirie, from the Members of the Assembly now solemnly conveened concerning the reall and true causes, of so many and great evils at this time past, and so sore troubling the peace of the Church and Kingdome. It was represented to his Majesties Commissioner by this Assembly, that besides many other, the main and most materiall causes were.

Reaſons from the Aſſembly for the change of Church-government.

1 THe preſſing of this Church by Prelates with a Service-book, or Book of Common-Prayer, without direction or warrant from the Church, and containing beſides the popiſh frame thereof, divers popiſh errors and Ceremonies; and the ſeeds of manifold groſſe ſuperſtitions and Idolatrie: with a Book of Canons, without warrant or direction from the generall aſſembly, eſtabliſhing a tyrannicall power over the Church in the perſon of Biſhop; and overthrowing the whole diſcipline and government of the Church by aſſemblies: with a Book of conſecration and Ordination, without warrant of authority civill or eccleſiaſticall, appointing offices in the houſe of God, which are not warranted by the word of God, and repugnant to the Diſcipline and Acts of our Church: with the Commiſſion erected without the conſent of the Church, ſubverting the Jurisdiction and ordinarie Judicatories of this Church; and giving to perſons meerly Eccleſiaſticall the power of both Swords; and to perſons meerly civill, the power of the Keyes and Church Cenſures.

2. A ſecond cauſe was the Articles of *Perth. viz.* Obſervation of Feſtivall dayes, kneeling at the Communion, Confirmation, Adminiſtration of the Sacraments in private places, which were brought in by a civill Aſſembly; and are contrary to the confeſſion of faith 1590 as it was meant and ſubſcribed in *Anno.* 1580. and divers times ſince to the order and conſtitution of this Church.

3. A third cauſe was, the change of the Government of the Church, from the Aſſemblies of the Church to the perſons of Church-men, uſurping the priority and power over their brethren by the way, and under the name of Epiſcopall government againſt the confeſſion, *Anno.* 1580. Againſt the order ſet down in the book of policy, and againſt the intentions and Conſtitutions of this Church from the beginning.

4. A fourth cauſe was the civill places and power of Church men, their ſitting in Seſſion, Counſell, and Exchequer, their ridding, ſitting and voting in Parliament; and their ſitting in the Bench as Juſtices of Peace, which according to the conſtitutions

of

of the Church are incompatible with their spirituall function, do tend to the hindrance of the Ministrie.

A fifth cause was, the keeping and authorizing of corrupt Assemblies at *Linlithgow* 1606. 1608. at *Glasgow* 1610. at *Aberdene* 1616. at *S. Andrews* 1617. at *Perth* 1618. which are all null and unlawfull, as being called and constitute quite contrary to the order and constitutions of this Church received & practised ever since the reformation of Religion, & labouring to introduce innovations in this Church, against the order & religion established.

A sixt cause was, the want of lawfull and free generall Assemblies, rightly constitute of Pastors, Doctors and Elders yeerly or oftner *pro re nata*, according to the liberty of this Church, expressed in the *Book of Policy*, and acknowledged in the Act of Parliament 1592. Which his Majesties Commissioner having heard patiently, and examined particularly; all objections to the contrary being answered to the full. The whole Assembly with expresse consent of his Majesties Commissioner, in one heart and voice did declare, that these and such other proceedings, from the neglect and breach of the *Nationall Covenant* of this Church & Kingdom made in *An.* 1580. have been indeed the true and main cause of all our evils and distractions; and therefore ordains, according to the constitutions of the generall Assemblies of this Church, and upon the grounds respective above-specified, that the foresaid *Service-Booke*, *Booke of Canons and Ordination*, and *High Commission* be rejected still: that the *Articles of Perth* be no more practised: that Episcopall government and the civill places and power of Church-men be holden still as unlawfull in this Church: that the above-named pretended Assemblies at *Linlithgow* 1606. 1608. at *Glasgow* 1610. at *Aberdon* 1616. at *S. Andrews* 1617. at *Perth* 1618. be hereafter accounted as null and of none effect; and that for preservation of Religion, and preventing all such evils in time coming, *Generall Assemblies* rightly constitute, as the perfect and compent Judge of all matters Ecclesiasticall hereafter be kept yeerly, and oftener, as occasion and necessity shall require, the necessity being first remonstrate to his Majesty by humble supplication; as also of these occasionall Assemblies, that Church-Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synodall Assemblies, constitute and ordained according to the *Book of Policies*, and constitutions of this Church, be also hereafter kept as occasion and necessity shall require.

The

The Heads of the Bill in Parliament for abolishing of Bishops in ENGLAND.

WHereas the government of the Church of England *by Archbishops, Bishops, Chancellours and Commissarist, Deanes, Archdeacons, and other their Ecclesiasticall Officers, hath been found by long experience to be a great impediment to the perfect reformation and growth of Religion, It is therefore enacted from henceforth there shall be no Archbishops, Bishops, &c. or any their Officers within this Church and Kingdome: and that if any person shall take upon him to exercise any such Office, he shall incurre a* Præmunire *according to the Statute of* 16. Ric. 2. *And that all Mannors, Lands, Rectories, Impropriations, Houses, Rents, Services, and other Hereditaments whatsoever of the said Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Deacons and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Canons, and Petite-Canons, which they or any of them have in the right of the said Churches and dignities, shall be disposed of and ordered in such manner and form as the Kings most excellent Majesty, the Lords Temporall and Commons shall appoint. And it is therein further inacted, that all Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction fit to be exercised in the Church and Kingdome of* England, *shall be committed to such a number of persons, and in such manner as by this present Parliament shall be appointed.*

A Motion to the House concerning Church Government.

1. EVery severall Shire of *England* and *Wales*, to be a severall Circuit or Diocesse, for the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, excepting *Yorkeshire*, which is to be divided into three.

2. A constant Presbyterie of twelve choise Divines to be selected in every Shire or Diocesse.

3. A constant President to be established over this Presbyterie.

4. This President in each Diocesse to ordain, suspend, deprive, degrade, Excommunicate, by and with the consent and assistance of seven Divines of his Presbytery then present and not otherwise.

5. The times of ordination throughout the land to be foure times every yeare, *viz.*, the first of *May*, the first of *August*, the first of *November*, and the first of *February*.

6. Every President constantly to reside within his Diocesse, in some one prime or chiefe City or Towne within his Diocesse, as in particular.

7. Every President to have one speciall particular congregation, to be chosen out of the most convenient for distance of place, from his chiefe residence, and the richest in value that may be had, where he shall duely preach unlesse he be lawfully hindered, and then he shall take care that his cure be well supplyed by another.

8. No President shall remove or be translated from the Presbytery which he shall first undertake.

9. Vpon every death, or other avoidance of a president, the King to grant a *Conge d'elire* to the whole Clergy of that Diocesse, and they to present three of the Presbyters aforesaid, and the King to choose and nominate whom he please of them.

10 The

10. The first Presbyters of every Shire to be named by the Parliament, and afterwards upon the death of any Presbyter, the remayning Presbyter to chuse another out of the Parish Ministers of that Shire, and this to bee done within one moneth after such death or avoidance.

11 No President or Clergie-man to exercise or have any *Temporall Office*, or *secular employment*, but only, for the present, to hold and keepe the probate of wills, untill the Parliament shall otherwise resolve.

12. The President once a year (at Midsummer) to summon a *Diocesan Synod*, there to heare and by generall vote, to determine all such matter of scandall in Life and Doctrine among the Clergie-men, as shall be presented unto them.

13. Every three yeares, a *Nationall Synod to be*, which for persons shall consist of all the Presidents in the Land and of two Presbiters to be chosen by the rest out of each Presbitery, and of two *Clerkes* to be chosen out of every Dioces, by the *Clergie* thereof.

14. This *Nationall Synod* to make and ordaine *Canons* of the *Governement* of the *Church*, but they not to binde untill tey be confirmed by Parliament.

15. Every President over and above the benefice aforesaid, a certaine constant rent allowed and allotted proportionall to the Diocesse wherein he is to officiate, that is to say, every Presbyter to have a constant yearely profit above his benefice.

16. As for the revenue of the Bishops, Deanes, and Chapters, &c. a strict survey to be taken of all their rents and profits, and the same to be represented at the beginning of our next convention, and in the mean time no Lease to be renewed, nor timber to be felled.

FINIS.

K- A Remonstrance of 9

LONDONS OCCURRENCES

IN A

BRIEF, REAL, AND INGENIUS

Demonstration of all particulars, and the bundle of Newes that flying Report doth annunciate in all matters.

Describing the absolute and present estate of the Common-wealth, and which way the Fancies and Opinions of men are carried in these troubles of the Kingdome.

Also prescribing solid Counsell to the ignorant, how to know the fashions of *London*, and to discourse prudently of the whole estate of this Kingdome.

Replenished with many witty conceits and humours, with divers ingenious passages inviting the Readers observation, and Judgement.

Jan: 31 1642

Vir sapit qui pauca loquitur.

A Representation of

LONDON's

The Map of Londons *Occurrences.*

IN Taverns and in other meeting places, when matters of Consequence fell to be the Subject of Discourse, it was formerly a custome to say, be it spoken under the Rose; but now when discord hath made mens tongues wrangle and jangle, it will be good for every one in the heat of their Arguments and Discourses to stay the claper of their conceits, with this old Proverb, fit to be applyed for these times, namely, *vir sapit qui panca loquitur.*

The man is wise that few words speakes;
Rash speaking often the neck breakes.

For what has every one to do to be a censurer of his brother, we raise up ridiculous reports of *Round-heads*, and they undergo this mocking Character in the judgment of the Cavaliers, that they are a company of thick skul'd fellowes, who are the Idolaters of ignorance, and love to be factious; well, admit they would have no Service, but call it porridge, and think it to be no suttle brain to compose their entoxicated opinions; Snppose they cannot endure to see a Crosse, but will start & run back from it! Alas, they love good Coyn both in Gold and silver, though the impression and figure of a Crosse be stamp'd theron: must I when I am tottering upon the Ale bench, and the Divell like a fly dancing about the candle, while every thing appears like a blew fogg or mist about me; must I or any one needs cast up our malice

lice in rayling against *Round-heads*, no, no, *vir sapit qui pauca loquitur*, it is a good Motto fit to be learnt of old and young, to shew them how to rule their tongue; for in this Age, the man is wise that few words speaks.

Now what saves the Round-heads againe of the Cavaleer, but that in regard of their long haire they may be said to weare a horses tayle, that they are nothing but the desperate sonnes of furious faction and fawning favour, and that they are very busie and daring in most places, and especially in the North, but whether this be true or not, *vir sapit qui pauca loquitur*, hee is wise that speaketh few words.

As for Clergie men, it may bee they were faulty, perhaps they had more Religion in their habits and Hoods, than they had in their hearts, I have knowne many a Dunce has got a Benefice, while the better Scholler has read prayers; and besides some of that coat were most compleatly proud, and some of them have, as it is generally knowne, preacht in the Pulpit like Players on the Stage, only to get themselves rich wives, but I need not pick holes in their coates, some poore Schollers Cassocks and cloakes are thread-bare enough already, and therefore, *Vir sapit qui pauca loquitur*, he is wise that speakes few words.

But there was never such a confusion of babling and pro and conning or cunning, you shall not finde three men agree in one opinion, but now they talke of the King, and then of the Parliament, as it happens and chances, and conclude with prayers for both; but let discreet knowing judgements meddle with their Markets, and not with State matters, let them talke and thinke with reverence of the King and his great Counsell the Parliament, ever praying for the prosperity of both, and the tranquility and peace of the Kingdome, *vir sapit qui pauca loquitur*, few words are wisest in all matters.

matters. Suppose I see a woman and her husband falling out together, she scoulds and rayles upon him, calls him Rogue and Rascall, the people they passe by and none give them a word, perhaps he's a drunken Cuckold that spends at the Ale-house that which should maintaine his wife and children, and shee playes the light huswife and gives him monstrous hornes; will any one therefore be so foolish to speake what hee thinkes, and call his next Neighbour Knave, and his wife Whore; no, no, *vir sapit qui pauca loquitur*. Some againe talke of the Irish Warres, and they imagine the Rebels are all conquered, others suppose that the businesse slowly forward, and that there is a malignant party at home, and that there are more Counsellours then those of the Law, but mum there, *vir sapit qui pauca loquitur*, fewest words are safest and wisest.

Pride is growne so rampant, that the Devil's is tired with inventing new fashions, come to a great man as a distressed sonne of the Muses, and his Porter will almost frowne you out of the Hall, at last if your Booke be preferr'd to fall into the Lords Lands, you shall be bound to pray for his Honours halfe-peece of bountie, bestow'd on your outside in pitty of your case. while a Whore shall have her whole pieces for a worke of one houres performance, but *vir sapit qui pauca loquitur*. But where are your Lawyers now with their suits longer and more tedious than their Gownes, there was so much bribery in their practises, so much colourable deceit in their Councels, and such jugling of conveyances under hand to defraud the true Heire, so that now if they were all turnd into Rookes they might live in some great Wood, for the Land has cast them up, and will be cheated no more by such fire-brands of dissention, that eate up the poore like bead, but *vir sapit qui pauca loquitur*, few words are wisest and best.

There

There was a Maid-ſervant cal'd Faith, and ſhe was turn'd out of ſervice, and I think Faith is turn'd out of a great many houſes into the ſtreet; for the Divels have an intellectuall Faith, but no cordiall and ſpirituall Beliefe, ſo that theſe ſeeming Fideans and Believers, are but white Divels.

There was a Letter brought to a Gentleman tother day, that contained merry News, good News, and true News: the merry News was, that the Yorkſhire Maids have put down many of your Gallants at their own weapons, and that there are more wenches with child than ever was knowne in thoſe Countries: But what was the true and good Newes? it was neither concerning this or that buſineſſe, but onely of two Cheeſes that a friend of his certified him he had ſent him up by the Carrier, and there was no harme in all this, for, *Vir ſapit qui pauca loquitur.*

The man was wiſe that feweſt words did uſe,
For he to write of Cheeſe did onely chuſe.

Now as for *Hull* it is a ſtrong Towne well ſeated and well victualled, it is ſtrong in two reſpects, both for ſcituation and Munition, and ſtronger ſort he ſent of pitch and tarre that comes from the ſhippes, and it may alſo be ſaid to be ſtrong, becauſe there is good ſtrong drinke and wine therein, but for other matters, *Vir ſapit qui panca loquitur*, the man is wiſe that ſpeaks few words.

As concerning a Declaration, it is an expreſſion of the mind and thoughts, by word and writing, as a Declaration at Law is an expreſsion of wrongs and grievances: A Love-letter is a kind of Declaration, wherin he maketh knowne to his ſweet-heart by the preſent contents of his Letter, that he is bound unto her in the utmoſt obligation of love and affection, but to ſpeak of that or this Declaration of ſupreame and high conſequence

sequence, *vir ſapit qui pauca loquitur*, hee's a wiſe that ſpeakes few words: There's no harme in all this, were it not a mad thing for a man to burne his lippes with ſupping hot pottage, to talke or write himſelfe into priſon, as the notable Tub-Lecturer the right unworthy Mr. *Walker* the Ironmonger hath done, and make the Proverbe true:

That man in priſon oftentimes ſhall ſit,
Whoſe tongue in prating doth exceed his wit.

There have been other praters and railers, who have got nothing but to be tyed up like Maſtiffe Dogges for barking, ſome againſt one perſon, ſome againſt another, and ſome at their owne ſhaddowes, ſuch vehement ſpirits are fit to be confin'd, for they would bring all to ruine, could their power be as unbounded as their malice is; but they and all ſuch may learne, *vir ſapit qui pauca loquitur*, he's wiſeſt that ſpeakes fewеſt words.

There are another company of ignorant ſpirits that know not what Militia or Anarchy is, and yet they apprehend them as feareſull notions, and will talke as farre from the purpoſe as a blinde mans Arrow flyes from the marke, and all their Argument is their owne weake fooliſh opinion, theſe talke of matters at Bake-houſes, Barbers ſhops, and Ale-houſes, and eſpecially women, for they will hold a thing ſtiffely by the end, eſpecially when it comes within the compaſſe of their capacitie, but *vir ſapit qui pauca loquitur*, the man is wiſe that ſpeaketh few words; but where the woman is that ſpeakes few words, is hard to be found, unleſſe ſhe be aſleepe, or laid in her grave; let women therefore talke as they are, like Parrets, of Religion, of Biſhops, of the Service of the Church, and the government thereof, let them praiſe *Tom Browniſt*, and *Timothy Troubleſome* his companion Lecturer, and let them talke of newes from *Yorke*, from *Ireland*, and tell newes

without

without booke to exercise their tongues, which can never lye still no more then their tayles: But let men speake with gravity of matters of Religion and Piety, let them speake *nihil nisi bonum de principibus, & de Parliamento*, nothing but good of the King and the Parliament, and let them think on this Caveat in their Discourse, *Vir sapit qui pauca loquitur.*

That man is wise, and still shall live at rest,
That speakes few words, or else doth speak the best.

Why should common people
of high matters talke,
And let their bold tongue
before their wits walke;
Let him that his wisest use
words few and least,
Of the King and the Parliament
still speake the best:
Then warily and charily
let us all sing,
And pray God to blesse
this Land and the King.

FINIS.

10

RARE

PHYSICK

FOR THE

CHVRCH SICK OF AN

AGUE

PRESCRIBING EXCELLENT and moſt accurate Phyſick to be given to the Church which has been ſicke a long time.

With the names of every particular Diſeaſe, and the manner how ſhe contracted them, and by what meanes, as alſo preſcripts to remedy the ſame.

Humbly commended to the Parliament, thoſe Admirable phyſicians of the Church and State.

Jan. 31 London, printed for W. T. 1642.

PHYSIC

Rare Phyſicke for the Church ſicke of an Ague.

THE languiſhing Church being extreame ſicke of many dangerous diſeaſes, had once began almoſt to ſing its *ultimum vale* to the World, it was ſo turbulently diſtracted by the contentious opinions of ſome Schimaticall diſturbers thereof: And being in this deepe Malady, many in an honeſt deploration condoled her eſtate; yet commiſeratiug her diſtreſſe farther, they would not leave her deſolate of reliefe and comfort, but did co unitely concurre in one unanimous contribution to elevate and reſtore her to its former proſperity and priſtine health. Firſt then they agreed in a concluſive determination to ſend for all the Neighbours round to viſit and conſolate her: The Proteſtants were firſt ſent for, becauſe they were the next Neighbours to her, who when they beheld apparently her deſperate ſickneſſe, every one endeavoured to adde a

salve thereunto; one would have cast her water, but the two Universities dammed up, and stopped the running thereof, for feare it should runne to *Amsterdam*: Another perceiving an obstacle there, laboured to finde out her Disease, supposing her to be sicke of the *Mother*: A third replyed, that she could scarce attaine to that maturity, since she laboured so lately of a young *Suckling*: Another answered, that she was abused by one living at the back-side of *Browne's* barn, who out of his running Hogshead broached such strange and prodigious propheſies to his prick-ear'd Auditors, that it stuck deeply in her Stomack, and from thence she contracted so great a burning Fever, that many Books could not withstand the Flame thereof. They sent secondly to the Round-heads desiring their assistance to help this distorted Church, but they were so greatly imployed at Cheapside-Crosse, that they could spare no time to come to her. The puritans were next sent for, but they were in such hasty preparation for New-England, that their consciences could not suffer them to steale so much time, to comfort the sicke, which they never cou'd endure to doe in their lives. There are many places for severall men appointed, and yet I wonder extreamely, that one should be deficient: There is Newgate appointed for Theeves, Bridewell for idle persons, the Counters for Drunkards, Ludgate for Debtors, Bedlam for mad men, and Hospitals

Hospitals for lame persons; yet amongst them all (I wonder) there is no place for Fooles, but in their New plantation (I thinke) they will erect an hospitall for Fooles, where they may doe many miraculous deeds of charity, yet I hope some of them will be wise enough to admit themselves there first, because charity begins at home. The Familists were next sent for, but some of the holy Brethren being asleepe, the others were occupied by their wives in a conjunction copulative, and being so zealously imployed, they could not suffarate so much time to come. Thus the Church being variously distracted between these Sects, is involved in an irremiable labyrinth of opinions, and hereupon recontracted such desperate diseases, that it still requireth a more auxiliary remedy. The surest way then, that I can conceive herefrom, is to send for the Doctors, who I suppose have more sciential skil to resolve us of her malady, but they with their New Canons are so imployed in the Tower to defend the City, for they would otherwise willingly have come, but only they stumbled on the protestation and the Tower stood in their way, which hindered their voluntary readinesse: But in my opinion it was well they were excluded by so opportune an obstacle, for otherwise (it is to be feared) they would have rather brought her former distemper to a deepe Consumption, and so consequently

the

she might have layn on her death-bed: but thanks be to the Omnipotent indulgencie of Almighty God, who sent true and skilfull Physitians unto her, to cure her disease; I meane the Parliament, that illustrious Assembly of both Temporall and Ecclesiasticall Physitians: These as soone as they first perspicuously perceived the dangerousnes of the disease, which by the long negligence of time she had contracted, began first to cast her water, which made so many Flye over the Ocean, that then she did seeme respectively to recover. And after, there was some hopes of preservative health remaining, they thought it most expedient to give her next a sound purge, which made so many impedimentall excrements of papisticall adherents be evacuated from her, that shee began to waxe stronger and stronger: Thus the Church was delivered out of the almost incurable disease of popery and superstition, and so Flourished a while; till at length for want of strong suporters she became feeble againe, and by the imaginarie countenancing of too much licentiousnes, she is now sicke of the Staggers, and unlesse she has another purge given her, and that speedily too, to purge her from Brownianisme, necessarily she will fall into the former, or as bad, if not worse) disease. For as the one swelled too high in popish opinions, and had almost overwhelmed her, so the latter dives so low in Heresie, that it will (it is supposed) almost sink her:

But

But the Judicious and phyſicall knowledge of the parliament will no doubt accurately cure her; the beſt way that I can conceive for her recovery is to be let bloud, and then ſome hopes of reformation may be expected to her great health and proſperity, the Kingdomes happineſſe, and the Immortall Glory of thoſe illuſtrious Phyſitians of the Parliament.

FINIS.

12

ΑΝΤΙΤΕΙΧΙΣΜΑ,

OR,

A Counter-ſcarſe prepared *Anno* 1642.

for the eviction of thoſe Zealots, that in their Workes defie all externall bowing at the Name of *JESUS*.

OR,

The Exaltation of his Perſon and Name, by God and us, in Ten Tracts, againſt Jewes, Turkes, Pagans, Heretickes, Schiſmatickes, &c.

that oppoſe both, or either.

By THO. BARTON *Maſter of Arts in* OXFORD, *and now Rector of* Weſtminſton *in* Suſſex.

Whereto is added a tryall thereof.

קָדוֹשׁ וְנוֹרָא שְׁמוֹ

Λεγειν, καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, Pſal. 111. 9.

Utilitas proximo: Gloria Deo.

LONDON,
Printed by *R. C.* for *Andrew Crooke*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the ſigne of the Greene Dragon in Saint *Pauls* Church-yard, 1643.

TO THE SACRED MAIESTY OF THE Moſt High, Mighty, and Illuſtrious Prince CHARLES, By the Grace of God, King of Great *Britaine, France,* and *Ireland,* Defender of the Faith, &c.

Dread Soverāigne,

Have beheld with regard the crucifying of our Saviour in his name, and the ſhamefull handling of his Church for not aſſenting to the act. A Paper-ſtatue is extant of both, and Dedicated to a Member in Your Houſe of Commons. Againſt it my pen adventures. Whereto Conſcience bindes, thither I tend.

tend. No clouds of horrour ſhall frighten my obedience from God and the King. Acknowledging therefore your Majeſties Supremacy, the next under Chriſt, I appeale unto *Cæſar*. At the footeſtoole of your Sacred Throne, Mercy may be had in Iudgement. Who hold this againſt any right, I ſue not to them for pardon. That is one way, I am ſure, and enacted too, to ſtrangle the independent Monſter. An evill daily felt: and let me not live to pray, if I pray not God heartily for the Reformation. My Petition to your moſt Excellent Majeſty humbly begges a gracious acceptance of this Primetiall, and the forgiveneſſe of ſuch preſumption. The Almighty ſettle peace, continue the Goſpell, and proſper both: Both under your Majeſties Highneſſe, and your Highneſſe Progeny, till Chriſt come in power and glory.

Moſt loyall to Your Majeſty, and

obedient to the Church,

THO. BARTON.

TO THE

HONORABLE THE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, AND Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons Aſſembled in PARLIAMENT.

Moſt Renowned Worthies,

His Antiteichiſma *ſtands under high Protection fortified. Oppoſition it had, and ſhall have ſtill. But your honour advanceth Truth, and nothing more. Nothing hath beene more obſcured is ſeene, and how. Age doth not, cannot wrinckle her. Where the clouds of Sophiſtry be diſpelled, her Face ſhines with beauty. To begin this*

 beliefe,

beliefe, I publiſhed this. The common charmes of ſuperſtition take not me. Whereat I aime, the marke is hit. I beſeech you embolden me, and I can ſpeake plaine. Whileſt the cloſe followers of Truth and Peace are purſued, the two ſacred Siſters be forced by Humoriſts. And ſo impetuouſly, as if their being preſent were the preſent being of incendiaries. A ſtrange Paradiaſtole: obſerve it, I have done. Be You ever under the divine influence, and I

the humbleſt of

your Servants,

THO. BARTON.

To the Reader.

WHo will correct, not defame? I feare not the Learned and Judicious. Diſ-favour of the Vulgar hath little force to hurt. The Schiſmaticall may lay his will, or me by. *Momus* goes chocking hence, and *Zoilus* chafes himſelfe unto madneſſe. If any one thinke here is no good, let him looke, and finde. He that gets by, hath fully repaid me. To him that proves ſo thankfull, I give all; that doth not, nothing.

T. B.

Errata.

PAg. 3. l. 9. read intention, p. 10. l. 20. r. ms, p. 17. l. 13. r. for, p. 26. l. 27. r. earth, p. 32. l. 7. r. fiſt, p. 52. l. 5. r. Helceſaits, p. 56. l. 36. r. they, p. 70. l. 7. r. init. p. 71. l. 24. r. faith, p. 76. l. 24. r. confeſſe, p. 90. l. 34. r. the eleventh, p. 100. l. 31. r. that.

ANTITEIXISMA,

OR,

A counterscarfe, prepared *Anno* 1642.

for the eviction of those Zealots that in their Workes defie all externall bowing at the Name of JESUS.

Tract. I.

PHIL. 2. 9,10,11.

Διὸ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσε, &c.

9. *Wherefore also God hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name above every Name:*

10. *That at the Name of Jesus, every Knee should bow, of things in heaven, and in earth, and under the earth.*

11. *And that every tongue should confesse, that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.*

THE Apostle, in the five first verses of this Chapter, makes an adjuring proposall to the *Philippians*, and in them to us. The πρόθεσις, or Proposition is, that mutuall love be in all humility zealously preserved in the Church. To settle this, observe the vehemency of his charge.

If ye will have any, or will that I shall have any comfort in Christ; If ye will partake, or will have me partake of the goods in the Church; If ye will be joyfull, or will that my joy should be full in the unity of

the Spirit; If ye have any pity one to another, or piety toward me, *ver.* 1. τὸ αὐτὸ φρονῆτε, be of like minde, keepe love without dissimulation, *ver.* 2. With all meeknesse preferre one another, *ver.* 3. Looke one upon another affectionately, and inflame my affections toward you by doing what I command, *ver.* 4.

Having thus induced what he would, Saint *Paul* doth παρασκευάζειν next, prepare them to receive the force of his argument. Ye all inspect one Saviour, are all called Christians; why will ye be distracted? τοῦτο φρονεῖτω, *Let the same minde be in you which was in Christ Jesus, ver.* 5.

In the sixe following verses is, ἡ κατασκευή, the confirmation it selfe illustrated, *ab exemplo*, in the person of Christ. First, by his Divine Majesty before his incarnation, *ver.* 6. Secondly, by his humiliation at the assumption, and after, unto the end of his passion, *ver.* 7,8. Thirdly, by his exaltation at, and after his resurrection, *ver.* 9,10,11.

Did the eternall Sonne of God so much for us? and shall not we doe any thing for his sake? How obedient was he to his Father? may his adopted then be immorigerous? Was not he exalted after his humility, that we might be advanced through him? and shall not we be humbled now before him, by whom we hope to be glorified? If this hope be in us, in us is charity; in charity humiliated we will doe all things, endure all things, waiting with patience for the appearing of our Lord Jesus.

Having seene the scope of the Apostle, we descend into the particulars of the Text.

These three verses denote to us, that whom God exalted, we must, and for the same cause extoll our Saviour.

The generall Parts are two. First, *Summum Opus*, the highest worke. *Exaltatio personæ, & exaltatio nominis*, the exaltation of his person, and the exaltation of his name. Either of them by God, and by us either. By God in the 9. *verse*, *Wherefore also God hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name above every Name.* And by us in the 10,& 11. *verses*. *That at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and in earth, and under the earth. And that every tongue should confesse that Jesus Christ is Lord.* Secondly, *finis summus*, the highest end; *Gloria Dei*, the glory of God. All that is done, is to the glory of God the Father. Both are raised on sure ground. There is a *propter quod* at the entrance to tell us that. A supernaturall conjunction, and a supernaturall effect. God and

Man

man in one to set at unity God and man. For the union and for our salvation; therefore God hath highly exalted him.

We have now gained these *præcognita*; God is prime efficient in the exaltation, we subservient; God and man the materiall cause, the union the formall; Our Salvation the next finall, and the glory of God the last.

The formall, and the finall first in execution, are first in hand. The efficient; and materiall will be next; The subservient after; But the first intension in execution last.

Διὸ καὶ, *Wherefore also.*

The two first words, *wherefore*, and *also*, are, as the most reverend and learn'd Bishop *Andrewes* said, the *Axis*, and *Cardo*, the very point whereupon the whole Text turneth. It concernes us then to be wary here. For if we mistake this, we run into a Labyrinth of errors. Διὸ καὶ.

In the Text there is a cause preceding, but what this cause is, that is it.

The Papist will have *humanitatis meritum*, his humility and obedience the meritorious cause of his glorification. Which if we grant, it may be thought that Christ had greater respect to himselfe, then of us. Secondly, it will be inferred that man may merit Divine honour. And thirdly, it may be denyed, that Christ had his clarification by nature, which is Arrianisme. *BeNarm. To. 1: contr. general. 2. l. 5. c. 9.* *Vid. Amand. Pol. Syn. Tom. 2. l. 6. c. 26.*

The Fathers whom they urge, *Ambrose*, *Hierome*, *Chrysostome*, *Augustine*, *Vigilius*, *Beda*, *&c.* understand by merit, *Viam*, *ordinem*, *& seriem perveniendi ad gloriam*, the way and order of the eternall purpose unto glory. *Meritum κατ' ἐξοχὴν dicitur opus per quod pervenitur ad honorem*, *quamvis gratuito destinatum & donatum*, Merit figuratively is a meanes whereby that honour is obtained which was freely given, So *Calvin*, *Polanus*, *Tilenus*, *Vorstius*, *&c.* And who will ponder Saint *Augustines* words immediate to those *Bellarmin* citeth, shall find no other then merit abusively taken. That the Mediatour of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, saith he, might be glorified by the Resurrection, *Prius humiliatus passione*, he was first humbled in the passion. *Non enim a mortuis resurrexisset*, *si mortuum non fuisset*, for he had not risen from the dead, if he had not first beene dead. By his next words then, *humilitas claritatis* *Calvin. Instit. l. 2. c. 17. par. 6.* *Polan. ibid.* *Conrad. Vorst. in 1 Tom. R. Bellar. Controv. gen. 2. the 11 v.* *Tilen. Syst. par. 2. cap. 10. thes. 34.* *R. Bellar. T. 1. contr. gen. 2. l. 5. c. 9.* *August. Tract. 104. in Ioh. &c. 17.*

eſt meritum, humility is the merit of glory; What intendeth he but that humility goes before glory, and glory followes humility? Deſcend we but ſixe lines, and he ſets humility and glory in order, as the ſeed before the fruite. Moſt evident it is in Saint *Luk.* 24.26. Chriſt ought to ſuffer, and ſo goe into glory.

Propter quod, or the Wherefore in the Text, doth not tell us that Chriſts humility was the efficient of his exaltation, or his exaltation the reward merited by his obedience; But declares the cauſe of his comming to and for us, and the going out of his ſubmiſſion, whereby he acquired glory. Or if you will, his humility is there propounded as an example unto us, that we might know how and by whom to obtaine glory, as in the Morall. For if διὸ here may be paralleled at *Pſal.* 45.7. *Act.* 20.26. *Heb.* 3.7. 2 *Pet.* 1.10. it is a note of conſequence. And this Saint *Athanaſius*, and Saint *Cyrill* have obſerved againſt the *Arrians*. No cauſe other of Chriſts exaltation was the prevening humility, unleſſe that which is called *ſine quâ non*, as the race may be ſaid to be the cauſe of attaining the bell. Indeed, *Oportuit ut præcederet humilitas*, a neceſſity there was that the humility of his paſſion ſhould be before the height of his glorification, ſaith Saint *Auguſtin*. But we muſt find another cauſe of his exaltation, unleſſe we will ſeeme to abet dangerous errours.

In Tract. 10.

Athanaſ. or. 2. *cont. Arria.*

Cyril Alexan. l. 3. *Theſ.* c. 2.

Aug. Tract. 51. *in Ioh. de cap.* 12.

The Text is not ſimply διὸ, wherefore, but διὸ καὶ, wherefore alſo; ſo is the Syriacke, ſo the Vulgar, and ſo doth *Arias Montanus*, *Eraſmus*, *Beza*, &c. interpret. There is then another wherefore, or the ſame wherefore was before, either underſtood, or expreſſed.

Looke we backe unto the 6. verſe, and then forward unto this; and tell how the Sonne of God came to be humbled. *Amavit quem precio redemit*, his love moved him to it, ſaith *Tertullian*. And his love *gratia unionis*, by the gracious diſpenſation, or the uniting of the divine and humane nature in one perſon, did it. The ſame that cauſed the Sonne of God to be humiliated, cauſed alſo the Sonne of man to be exalted. God could not be humbled, but by the humanity, nor man exalted but by the divinity. Nor did the humanity, or poſſibly could it, merit to be aſſumed into the Godhead. To be ſo aſſumed was that grace we terme the grace of union. Nor was this grace for himſelfe, he wanted not our nature, but for us, we wanted him. Becauſe he would doe good to us, he would doe it this way. And this way, that what was fitteſt for our remedy, one

Tertul. de car. Chr. c. 4.

one and the same, ἢ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως, ἢ πάλιν ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας καὶ δυνάμεως, might dye in the one nature, and rise by the other, laid *Leo*. *Leo in Epist. Synod. ad Flavia.*

Secondly, if at the former Verses demand be, why he was so humbled? The Articles of our faith, and the Fathers according to the Scriptures, answer, *Ex causa humanæ salutis*, that the whole obedience of Christ points out our salvation, as the efficient meritorious cause doth its proper effect. The *propter quod* of his humiliation tends to us; *propter nos & de nobis dictum est* [*exaltavit & Donavit*:] and for us also is the *propter quod* of his exaltation, as *Athanasius*. In his owne person both, but for himselfe neither the one nor the other. So bountifull he, that whatsoever he did, was done to make us partakers of his excellencies, *Mat.* 20. 28. *Surrexit Christus, exultet universus mundus*, as Saint *Augustin*, for whom Christ dyed, let the whole world exult, now he is risen. He undertooke death, *ne mori timeremus*, that we might not feare to dye: *ostendit resurrectionem ut nos posse resurgere confidamus*, he rose that we also may be sure to rise, saith *Gregory* For us onely his humiliation, and his exaltation acquired in his person, merited for us onely. For us both, that we might give him the more glory. This is Ecclesiasticall and *in primis*, saith *Athanasius*. Isa. 9. 6. Luk. 2. 10. 11. Gal. 4. 4. Rom. 4. 25. *Athanas. cont. Arria. orat. 2.* *August.* *Grego. in Mor. super Iob, Scio quod redemptor &c.* *Athanas. ibid.*

We deny therefore that Christs humiliation *secundum carnem*, as a worke of his humanity, was the *propter quod*, that merited his exaltation. But are positive that *propter quod formale*, the internall, impulsive, or formall cause, wherefore God highly exalted him, is the grace of union: And satisfaction being made by his death for us, that glory may be ours also is, *propter quod finale*, the externall impulsive, or first finall Wherefore of his exaltation.

The Papist here slander us in saying, we allow not Christ to merit ought. For first our tenet is, that not for any thing in the flesh, but for the Word whereto the flesh is united, was the flesh exalted. Secondly, that God being made man, in the person of God and Man, was worthinesse to deserve over and over what we can conceive. Thirdly, that it is supercilious curiosity, wherein Scriptures are silent to define what Christ merited to himselfe. Fourthly, that it is expressed throughout the Testaments, old and new, that he had little or no regard

of himſelfe, but for us; All that might be for our Salvation. Laſtly, that the humility, and the glory being ſet downe in the eternall decree, the glorification followed the humiliation, *ſuâ ſponte*, of its owne accord, or by the union neceſſarily. And this is held the principall reaſon, wherefore the man ſo humbled both might and ought to be ſo highly exalted. Bring theſe together, and the *Lutherans*, and *Calviniſts* ſo well agree here, that who oppoſe in what follows, will be condemned at διὰ τί, by that which went before.

True Chriſtians we referre the Wherefore in the Text, not to Chriſts being made obedient onely, but to the cauſe alſo of his humiliation. It was his charity there: He would be humbled unto, that we might be delivered from death. And his Charity here alſo: He would be exalted, that we through him might be glorified. Our freedome then from hell, and entrance into Heaven beginning at his love, have perfection after his obedience by his exaltation. His humiliation merited our exaltation, though not his owne. His owne was by the union, and not in any thing elſe meaſured unto him. We finde not why hee ſhould merit any thing to himſelfe, whoſe perfection wanted nothing that might be acquired by merit. This we know, it was decreed, that God ſhould be inhumanated to dye, and riſe againe for us. As inhumanated he dyed; and is exalted as inhumanated. The fleſh is the inſtrument of the Word, wherein it doth ſubſiſt. The fleſh therefore ſubſiſting in the perſon of the Sonne of God we determine the *propter quod*, or wherefore, why the Sonne of God did dye. The ſame ſubſiſtence, *propter quod etiam*, the wherefore alſo, why he is exalted. He dyed; How? As man; Why? For us. He is exalted; How? As man; Why? For us. For us then is the other *propter quod*, or Wherefore in the Text. *Wherefore alſo God hath highly exalted him.*

Tract. II.

ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσε.
God hath highly exalted him.

Wherefore hath beene declared, we now are at the *exaltation*, and that first of the person by God.

ὁ Θεὸς, God is agent; ὑπερύψωσε, high exaltation, the worke; αὐτὸν, the whole person of God and Man, the object. These three may not be separated: For none can super-exalt, save God, and none be super-exalted save Jesus. God is the onely powerfull, and Jesus the onely worthy.

Before it was said, Christ humbled himselfe, *ver.* 7. but now it is God that exalts Christ. In the low estate the humane nature was very busie, but this high advancement must be a divine act onely. As God onely could never have dyed, so man onely could never have beene exalted. Man did nothing in the exaltation, God was all in all, *Rom.* 1.4.

The Originall is Emphaticall, ὁ Θεὸς, the God, which Christ was in his humiliation; For he resumed his Soule by the same power, wherein he laid it downe, *John* 10.17. Though the Scripture ascribes Christs exaltation to the Father, *Acts* 2.24. yet doth not exclude the power of the Sonne. It sheweth, *Essentiæ & operationis* ταυτότητα, the identity of essence and power in them: The very same God, which the Father, the Sonne and the Holy Ghost are, is ὁ Θεὸς, the God. ὁ Θεὸς.

The God which the Father is; For God the Father raised him from the dead, 2 *Cor.* 2.21. and set him at his right hand, *Act.* 2.33.

The God, which the Sonne is; For God the Sonne raised againe the Temple of his body, *John* 2.19. ascended into heaven, *John* 3.13. and is set downe at the right hand of the throne of God, *Heb.* 12.2

The God, which the Holy Ghost is; For God the Holy Ghost shall quicken us, *Rom.* 8.11. with the same Spirit was Christ annointed above his fellowes, *Psalm.* 45.7. and beyond measure, *John* 3.34.

The exaltation then is a worke of the whole Trinity undivided,

ded, and eſſentially common to the three perſons. Not that it is eſſentiall; for then the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt muſt be exalted, and not the Sonne onely. But the worke is perſonall, becauſe terminated in the perſon of the Sonne of God. The Father and the Holy Ghoſt did exalt, but neither the Father, nor the Holy Ghoſt is the perſon exalted. It is the reall diſtinction of the perſons makes this diſtinction reall. This is the Symphony of the Church; the Fathers in all the Councels expound it thus, and ſo is it underſtood in the Articles of our Faith. One and the ſame God in three perſons exalting, and yet not three but one exalted perſon.

The God it was is proved, but what the God did, would be declared.

ὑπερύψωσε. ὑπερύψωσε, ſaith the Apoſtle, that is, *multiplicavit ſublimitatem*, he multiplyed his ſublimity, as the Syriacke: he exalted him, as the Vulgar: ſuper-exalted, as *Arias Montanus*: *in ſummam exulit ſublimitatem*, he lifted him up unto the height of all heights, as *Eraſmus*, *Beza*, &c. highly exalted, as our Tranſlatours.

We have here as the moſt reverend Biſhop obſerved, a decompound, *ſuper-exaltavit*, his exalting hath an *ex*, and a *ſuper*, whence and whither his perſon was exalted.

Gen 40.15. Dan.6.23. Jona.2.10. Whence? From the Dungeon with *Joſeph*, from the Den with *Daniel*, from the Whales belly with *Jonas*. Or if you will from the three extreames of his exinanition, Death, the Grave, and Hell.

Whither? To life, to Heaven, to the Throne of God. The full of his exaltation is his Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, and ſitting downe in the higheſt glory.

Three to three; the higheſt three anſwer the three loweſt. Firſt he dyed, then was buryed, laſt of all deſcended into Hell: So at his exaltation, firſt he roſe, then aſcended, laſt of all ſate downe at the right hand of the Father. The amends is full. For Death, Shame, and a death of ſhame in the former verſe, he hath Life, Glory, and the life of glory in this. Theſe all, and ever all; For he is *factus Dominus*, made the Lord of life and glory. This laſt is *ultimus gradus*, the *ſuper*, or that above, *ſuper quod non eſt ſuper*, above which there is nothing above.

The day indeed of his Reſurrection was the Feaſt of the firſt fruites, *Levit.* 23.10. For then was the Paſſeover, and then in

Canaan

Canaan corne began to be ripe. The sheafe of first fruits was on that day, being the day after the Sabbath, brought to the Priest, and waved before the Lord, that the whole harvest might be sanctified. Christ was that day, *primitiæ dormientium*, the first fruites of them that slept, 1 *Cor.* 15. 20. πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, the first begotten of the dead, *Colos.* 1. 18. Thenceforth was the whole lumpe sanctified. But on that day he had the first fruits onely; had he therefore gone no higher, we could goe no further. An exaltation he had then, but his super-exaltation forty dayes after.

The stay he made was not from any defect in himselfe. To confirme the truth of his Resurrection was one cause, and to shew the glory of himselfe risen, another.

The first, *per φανερώσεις*, by frequent apparitions, and *per ἐνεργήματα*, by externall workes of humane nature.

The second, *per ἑτερομορφίας*, by shewing himself in other formes, and *per ἀφανισμούς*, by suddaine vanishings.

When his Disciples were informed, their Ministry consecrated; when all was done that he would, he let them see, that though his humiliation had an *usque*, so farre, and no further, yet his Exaltation was higher and higher. Beyond the sight, and above our conceite. He was lifted up, *Act.* 1. 9. exalted to the right hand of God, *Act.* 2. 33. and the protomartyr Saint *Stephen* saw him standing there, *Act.* 7. 56. *Non ubi verbum Deus ante non fuerat*, not where the Word God never was, but where the Word made flesh sate not before, saith *Ruffinus*. *Ruffin in Symb. Apost.*

That is his high Exaltation, and to it his Resurrection, and Ascension were the motions. *Glorificatio Christi resurgendo, & Ascendendo completa est*, by rising, and ascending he went into eternall glory. So high, *ut nos desuper protegeret*, that from above he may protect us below. *Non ergo turbemur in terra*, as Saint *Augustine* Preached, Our Saviour is in Heaven, we need not therefore be troubled on earth. We need not, if rising from sinne to Righteousnesse, we ascend in heart to Christ, that his Grace may descend on us to keepe our hearts still exalted unto him. *Aug. de temp. seu.* 174, & 175 *in fest. Ascens.* 1, & 2.

The high exaltation of the Person is past, the Person exalted is next, αὐτὸν, him. *Avτὸν.*

Him, that is, Christ; not according to the one or the other

nature *seorsum*, a part, but *totam personam* θεανθρώπε, the whole person of God and Man, according to both Natures. Indeed, *In forma Dei semper fuit, semper erit claritas*; in the forme of God ever was, ever will be clarity. One & the same without alteration. But if we consider with the Fathers, ἄλλον λόγον τῆς θεότητος καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ἄλλον καθ' οἰκονομίαν, one reason of the Deity in and by it selfe, and another according to the dispensation, that may be said of the God-head in the personall union, which otherwise would derogate from God. As therefore Christ emptyed himselfe according to the Deity, in the former verses, so is he according to the Deity exalted here. He emptyed himselfe, *non suis se viribus exercendo*, as *Novatianus*, by vailing, and is exalted by manifesting the God-head in the flesh. The first was κατὰ τι, in a respect onely, and so is this. The Exaltation then according to the Deity is no accession thereto, a declaration onely of the high power, authority, and Majesty thereof, *Rom.* 1. 4.

Aug. tract. 104 *Joh.* 17.

Novat. de Trin. c. 17.

But though the Deity was not, could not, save in that respect, be exalted, yet the person of Christ according to the humane nature was highly exalted, ἁπλᾶς, really, simply. For whatsoever is spoken of the one nature, doth κατὰ περίπτωσιν τῆς ἀντιδόσεως, by communion betweene the parts and the whole truely predicate of the whole person. Highly therefore exalted properly as man, *omne quod infirmum & fragile absolvendo*, as *Ruffinus*, by deposing the assumed infirmities. For the humane nature wanted something in it selfe, though there was nothing wanting in the person wherein the flesh subsisted. It wanted, that through those wants the worke might be done; when that was past, all those supernaturall excellencies were communicated to it, which might possibly stand with God and Man. The gifts of Christs body and soule are more, and more perfect then all other Creatures, Angels, and Men, can comprehend. Yet, as high as they be above, are not against nature. Nature still remaines created, and so in her essentials, that our flesh, and the seed of *David*, shall in celestiall glory reigne for ever and ever.

Ruffin. in Symb. Apost.

The Majesty of Christ is not the same in both natures. Increated the one, created the other. No creature can be equall to the Creator. We extoll his humane nature to the height, but convert it not into God. God and Man as one *Immanuel*, we worship with one worship; but not God as one, and Man as another.

another. For then Christ must be κοινός τις καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος, a common man like us, and partaker of Divine glory by grace, saies *Cyrillus Alexandrinus*. By the dispensation of union he hath this honour, but by this one adoration the natures are not confounded, nor by the two natures is the adoration doubled. Hold here, and erre not. For as Christ was exalted *quoad locum*, in place out of the grave, above the earth, and from the earth, farre above all the Heavens, *Ephes.* 4. 10. So was he, *quoad dignitatem*, in dignity, above all rule, power, might, dominion, and every name that is named, not onely in this world, but also in the world to come, *Ephes.* 1. 21. Thus highly according to his humanity properly, and yet his proper humanity is farre inferiour to his Deity. Fitted so to it it is, that all things are under him. Every knee of things in Heaven, on the earth, and beneath the earth doe, and must bow unto his superexalted person.

Cyril. Alex. in responsione, adverſ. Theodor. Reperheuſio, 8. & 12 Anathe. Concil. Epheſ.

The *Ebionites*, that make Christ a meere man; the *Arrians*, that grant him no true Deity; and the *Apollinarists*, that confound the persons in the Trinity, are condemned by the Apostle at ὁ Θεὸς· for the God, the blessed Trinity exalted him. The Philosophers, and Sadduces who scoffe at the Resurrection of the flesh; the *Jewes* and *Corinthians*, that deny Christs Resurrection; the *Appellites*, who counted his Ascension a dissolution of his body into the foure Elements; and the *Manichees*, that withstand his sitting at the right hand of God, in respect of his flesh, are condemned at ὑπερύψωσε· for to the height of heights, so highly did God exalt him. The *Christolites*, that attribute the exaltation to the Deity onely; the *Valentinians*, who will have Christs body Æthereall after the Resurrection; the *Carpocratians*, that say his Soule not his Body ascended; the *Eutychians*, that imagining a reall effusion of the Divine proprieties into the humane nature deifie his flesh; and the *Romanists*, who by a Magicall demurmuration detract Christ from the third Heaven, not into the globe of the Sunne, where the *Seleucians* placed him, but into the very accidents of the Bread at the Communion Table, are condemned at ἐχαρίσατο· for him perfect God, and perfect Man, God hath highly exalted him. This and all we maintaine from διὸ καί, and still our Argument is the union, and our Salvation.

True Christians we acknowledge the omnipotent power of God the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost to be the efficient of the exaltation. The worke was individedly of the three, though fitted but to one. The second person, by the eternall counsell of the Holy Trinity, undertaking the humiliation, with him the other two exalted him. We seclude not the person exalted, from the agent exalting: because their essence is but one. Who are Holy, Holy, Holy, are the same Lord and God. The Godhead then exalting, the advancement might be high. As high say we, as God would. We know not how high, sure above death; Not to dye againe, to be immortall; Not on earth, above the Heavens; Not to glory created onely, above, to the glory of the Father. At the right hand of God, thither we beleeve; but the immensity of the power, dominion, and honour we comprehend not. It is enough for us that his Authority royall is so manifested, that we doubt it not. And our comfort is, he hath so dispensed with the manhood, that our nature remaines for ever entire in his person. Being therefore our head, and such a head, he can no more forget us, then not remember himselfe; and remembring us, is both able and willing to bring us unto himselfe. Rejoyce we may and be glad; we are his members; he is gone before, we shall follow after. His humiliation was to purchase us, his exaltation to provide for us: whom he purchased by his blood, he will at the time receive us into his glory. For, for our sake he humbled himselfe; and our cause is the cause, *Propter quam, Wherefore also God hath highly exalted him.*

Tract. III.

Καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ ὄνομα, τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα.

And hath given him a Name, which is above every name.

Καὶ. THe conjunction, καὶ, *and*, brings διὸ καὶ, *Wherefore also*, hither. We may not forget the union, nor for whom the union is. These are *præcognita* in the Text, and were foreset to

set

ſet forth the Truth. Nor doth the particle, καὶ, *and*, tell us why a name was given onely, but who alſo gave, and who received the name. It carries backe to ὁ Θεὸς, and to ἀνὴρ · and now we have no more to ſay, why a name was given, who gave it, and to whom, then was before of why, who, and whom exalted. The grace of union is firſt in why, and that we may be of high eſteeme in him is finall. The Triune God is the efficient giver, and God an man the perſon named. How then God gave him a name, and what a name he gave, is next.

Ἐχαρίσατο.

He gave.

There is no difference in the Tranſlation. The Syriacke, the Vulgar, *Arias Montanus*, *Eraſmus*, *Beza*, &c. and our *Engliſh* verſion is the ſame. The Greeke word ſignifies a gift, χάρισμα δωρεᾶ, Saint *Chryſoſtome* ſo expounds it, *per gratiam & gratis*; Not by grace of Adoption here, but of union, as before. It is not then a giving, *ab æterno*, without beginning; but ſuch a giving as being from eternity decreed, was executed in time. Ἐχαρίσατο.

I ſee not why any ſhould here minde the naturall donation in the eternall generation of the Sonne; whereby the Father communicates *ſuum eſſe*, his being to another, which ſtill is his owne. For if this be it, Chriſt hath no other eſſence then the Father, or this donation is not the full of his perſon. *Dare ſignificantiam habet manifeſtam*, ſaith *Nonius Marcellus*, to give hath a manifeſt ſignification. It tels out and leaves nothing untold. Chriſt is more then the Sonne of God; the Sonne of Man is he alſo. This he was made in time, that he was begotten before all time. As begotten and made, this giving muſt be according to both. *Non. Marcel. de propriet. Serm. cap. 4.*

It is true, Chriſt hath no other perſon then the Sonne of God is; yet in his perſon are two diſparate natures. The Sonne of God then doth expreſſe his whole perſon; but not *totum perſonæ*, the whole of his perſon. Another giving therefore to make all apparent, and this is temporall. Not momentary; beginning in time hath no time to end.

As the Sonne of God Chriſt was ever named, and never not

named; becauſe ever borne, and never not borne the Sonne of God.

As the Sonne of God and Man he was once borne to be for ever named, what he was borne, *Emmanuel*, God with us. For ever named; becauſe he will be for ever in ours, that we may be for ever in his.

Laſtly, as riſen from death, he was the firſt borne of the dead. A giving then, and more and more after, as he was exalted more and more.

Of theſe three the firſt is really diſtinct from the other two; and being before all time begotten, found no time to be ſo given. We ſeeke not after this; a time the eternall begotten had, and when the fulneſſe of time was come, began the time of this giving. Then God ſent his Sonne, *Gal.* 4. 4. and by his Angell gave him a name then, *Mat.* 1. 21. Then was the giving, but the illuſtration not till now. Now no other Name; no other perſon now. Now no other perſon; the perſon before humiliated, as you have ſeene, is the ſame exalted now. Nor any other name now; the name before ſcorned, is the ſame glorious now.

Chryſoſt. in Philip. Hom. 3. Given, at firſt, as Saint *Chryſoſtome* ſaid to the Heretickes, οὐδὲ ὀνομαζόμενος καθ' ὑμᾶς, it was of no eſteeme in the world; And when given for gone, by an ignominious death, God gave it againe, or ſet it forth to be knowne, as eminent it was in it ſelfe, by his powerfull reſurrection. For to give here is as elſewhere, to manifeſt. All power in Heaven and in Earth is given me, ſaith our Saviour, *Mat.* 28. 18. Not that all the power he now hath, was not his before now, but what he ever had was not opened till now. *Nomen tunc accepit a Patre, cum a creatura*
Ambroſ. in c. loc. *cœpit ſciri*; he then received the name of the Father, when he began to be acknowledged by the Creature, as Saint *Ambroſe*.
Peter Lomb. Sent. l. 3. D. 18. *Manifeſtationem ergo illius Nominis donavit ei Deus*, God therefore after the Reſurrection, gave to him the manifeſtation of his Name, ſaith the Maſter of the Sentences. This Name-giving then was to the exaltation, as the Epiphany to the Nativity. For *hodie genui te*, to day I have begotten thee, is applyed to it, *Act.* 13. 33. That exaltation the Nativity, and this giving the publication. For therefore are things lifted up, that they may

may be in view. Becauſe, as the moſt reverend Biſhop *Andrewes* ſaid, they which be exalted, ſeeme not ſo to be, till their ſo being be made publike in the world.

This expoſition of ἐχαρίσατο, *hath given*, is out of queſtion. The Fathers, Greek, and Latin, make no other gloſſe. The maine doubt is, what the Name ſo given is.

Nomina, ſaith *Cicero*, *ſunt tanquam rerum notæ*, Names are the expreſſions of things. *Nomen quaſi notamen*, as Saint *Auguſtine*, *Iſidore*, &c. Name is a note of that which the underſtanding cannot behold, but by repreſentation in it. The Greeke word is ὄνομα of νέμω, according to ſome Etymologiſts. As if there were a ſimilitude betweene νόμος, a Law, and ὄνομα, a Name. For as the Law doth preſent to every one his owne, ſo doe names the ſpecies, or formes of nature by a ſecondary image of things. Others derive it from ὄνημι, as if it were, ὀνίσιμα, a help, and did bring to the underſtanding. *Nomen quaſi novimen*, as *Feſtus*, a Name tels what we know not. Then if we know not the Name, we cannot teach what you would know. *Nomina ſi neſcis cognitio rerum perit.* Though man in his integrity was able to impoſe names to all things according to their nature, yet by his fall is ſo weakened that he knowes onely the manner of being, not the being of things in nature. And though we know nothing but names, yet through them, as the Vines doe by their Palmites, we lay hold of the Elme. When we ſhall be perfectly renewed, we know no more by deduction of termes, but by viſion of things, 1 *Cor.* 13.12.

M.T.Cicero de fin.l.5. Ονομα.

Sextus Pompe. Feſtus de verb. ſignifica.pag. 23.

Gen. 2.20.

A Name therefore was given to him, that by it he might be acknowledged of us. Whatſoever then the name is, ſuch a one it, as doth name what he is, whoſe it is. Ὅταν τῷ ὀνόματι ἕκαστα τῶν πραγμάτων πεπόνηκε, for *Iſocrates* could ſay, that as the names of things are, πιστοὺς ἡγεῖσθε καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν εἶναι, ſo ſhould their vertues be eſteemed. Here is no Hebraiſme, we meane not the perſon onely, nor only his power and glory, but a name of the perſon, which may ſignifie his excellency according to both natures, in himſelfe, and to us. This is Jeſus, and can be no other. The Wherefore, we had at firſt, tels us ſo. If we bring it hither, to Why was a name given him? anſwer is made, *gratia unionis*, for the union of God and man. To ſhew that he was true

Iſocra. Nicocl. in fine.

God,

God, as well as perfect man; the Saviour of his people from their ſinnes, *Matth.* 1. 21, 23.

For before the Incarnation no man called Jeſus was ever God. God and man were before appointed to be one, and God was our Saviour; but our Saviour was never God and man before. As God נושׁע and מושׁיע, ὁ σώζων, ὁ σωτὴρ, ſaving, or the Saviour he. But as God and man, ישׁוע, the Saviour, which is Chriſt the Lord.

Or if you will looke no farther then the giving of a Name, to know what Name was given, you may be ſatisfied there. For it is granted by all, that the giving of a Name here, is the exaltation of his Name. *Dicitur res fieri, quando innoteſcit*; For in Scripture often a thing is ſaid to be done, when it is made to be knowne, as *Peter Lombard* hath obſerved. I finde not that any one of the Fathers, nor any one of our Church, or of the Churches beyond the Seas, denies this. This granted, the Name exalted was the Name humbled. Becauſe nothing can be lifted up, but muſt have an *unde*, whence it was lifted.

Pet. Lomb. Sent. l. 3. D. 18.

Neither the Name God, nor the Name Chriſt was deſpighted in him. For his enemies neither acknowledged him God, nor Chriſt. Jeſus was the Name called his at his Circumciſion, by it he was knowne, and in it revealed. It among the Jewes ſignified nothing, ſave a vile man, a Carpenter, a friend of ſinners, a drunkard, a Glutton, a Sorcerer, a Devill, one ambitious, a Seducer, a Blaſphemer; to put out it, they crucified him, and after his Reſurrection hired the Souldiers to ſay his Diſciples had ſtolen him away. No doubt of this, we have it recorded in the foure Evangeliſts. If any man can ſhew me how any other Name of Chriſt was ſo abaſed, or neare ſo, as this, ile yeeld to that. But ſince no other can be found ſo aviled, this muſt be it. The Name of God the Jewes highly reverenced, and in the Name of Meſſiah, that is, Chriſt, or the Annointed, they gloryed. Onely Jeſus was the Name of ſcorne throughout his humiliation. If then there were a Name to be advanced higheſt, Jeſus is it. For from the loweſt to the higheſt, is the higheſt advancement ever.

Luke 2. 21.

Have ſome faith in going with me unto the next words, and you ſhall as plainely ſee that this is the Name, as in the text you

ſee

ſee plainely that the Name given is, τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, a Name which is above every name.

To the Queſtion, what Name is given; Anſwer is, that Name which is above every Name. If this be proved to be Jeſus, the reſolution is made. To make this good, and not delude any, ile tie my ſelfe unto the very words of the Apoſtle. Τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα.

In the Tranſlation there is no materiall difference, the Syriack and *Montanus* leave out τὸ, the particle *which*: the Vulgar, *Eraſmus*, *Beza*, and our Bibles expreſſe it. Whether then we read a Name above all Names, or a Name which is above all, that is the Name given, which is above every Name.

The ſuper-exaltation is evident, and by the evidence thereof the name appeares, in *ſuper*, above all. For the *ſuper omnia*, above all, in the Syriack is *præſtantius omnibus*, more excellent then any, and that we are ſure is the Name of Jeſus. Becauſe there is no ſalvation in any other, *neither is there any other Name under Heaven given wherein we muſt be ſaved*, *Act.* 4. 12.

Foureteene hundred yeares agoe *Origen* ſo interpreted it, *Eſt Nomen, quod eſt ſupra omne Nomen, Jeſus*, the Name which is above every Name is Jeſus. Saint *Cyrill* thinketh that, τὸ ὄνομα ἀυτῦ τὸ καινὸν, the Name Jeſus is the new Name at *Iſaiah* 62. 2. And inferreth that when Chriſt was πρωτότοκος, the firſt begotten, and of many brethren, πότε καὶ ὁ φύσει παῖς ὀείλει τὸ ὄνομα, then he who is his Father by nature, following, if I may ſo ſay, the Lawes of Fatherhood, defined it, or ſet it out in full to us. What other Name doth Saint *Auguſtine* underſtand at *Phil.* 2. 9? *Chryſologus* in one of his Sermons preacheth this the Name, and ſo doth Saint *Bernard*, *Hoc Nomen novum, quod os Domini vocavit, quod & vocatum eſt ab Angelo priuſquam in utero concipitur*; This Name above every Name is the new Name which God named, *Iſa.* 62. 2. and which was named by the Angel before Chriſt was conceived in the wombe, *Luke* 1. 31. Thus *Gorran*, *Ambroſius Catharinus*, *Stella*, *Aretius*, *Haymo*, *Eraſmus*, *Cornelius a Lapide*, &c. Thus alſo the moſt eminent for Religion and Learning in our Church have expounded it; and in the next verſe it is ſo named. Nor without reaſon, for at *Luke* 1. 32, 33. all this by the Angel was foretold then, to be fulfilled now, οὗτος ἔσται μέγας, this Jeſus ſhall be great, How great? even ſo great, that he ſhall be called the

Orig. in Ieſ. Na. cap. 1. Hom. 1.

Cyril. Alex. lib. de fide ad Theod. c. 29.

Aug. in Pſal. 109.

Bernar. in circumciſ. Domin. ſer. 2. & in cant. ſer. 15. & 16.

Gorr. & Catha. in loc.

Stel. & Aret. in Luc. 2. 21.

Hay. Eraſ. Corn. in loc.

the Sonne of the Higheſt; he ſhall Raigne, and of his Kingdome ſhall be no end. No end of it, none greater then he: The prediction is here anſwered, *God hath given him a Name which is above every Name.*

This Name Jeſus, and no other: nor preferre I, excepting no Name, no not the Name of God, any perſon before another. For the glory of this Name is, as in the end will be declared, the glory of the Triune God. The moſt learned Biſhop ſheweth it is above all to him, above all to us; and without Blaſphemy, to the other attributes, I prove it above all in it ſelfe too.

Above all to him, ſaith that reverend Father. For though many titles of the Deity ſound and ſeeme to be more glorious, yet he eſteemes them all not like this. Why? For no other reaſon, but that they had not, *nos homines*, us men, and *noſtram ſalutem*, our ſalvation in them. No name heſets by like that, wherein with his glory is joyned our ſafety. And this of all he made choyce of (as to him above all) that we might accordingly eſteeme of him, that eſteemes it above all onely for our ſakes.

Auguſt. tract. 3. in Epiſt. 1. Ioan. Iſid. Orig. l. 7. c. 2.

To this I adde, firſt, that it is his proper Name; for though our Saviour be one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, yet Chriſt the Name is communicated by him to others. *Sic enim Judæi Reges ſuos appellabant*, for ſo the Jewes called their Kings. *Non proprium nomen ſed nuncupatio poteſtatis*, as *Lactantius*. *Accidens nomini res*, not a Name, but an accidentall thing to a Name: the cloathing of his name, ſaith *Tertullian*. Yea Chriſt is not, cannot be the Name of God; *Qui corpus non habuit, ungi omnino non potuit*. But the Name Jeſus is his chiefe Name, and goeth not beyond him. *Ego, ego Dominus, & non præter me Salvator*. I, I am the Lord, and beſide me is no Saviour, *Iſa.* 43. 11. It is his peculiar, and therefore to him above that which is in common.

Lact. l. 4 c. 7.

Tertul. adverſ. Prax. c. 28.

Tertul. adverſ. Marcio. l. 3. c. 25.

Secondly, he was annointed King, Prieſt, and Prophet; Why? that he might be a perfect Saviour. The end is higheſt, to be Jeſus he was Chriſt. For *Chriſtus Sacramenti Nomen*, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, Chriſt is the Name of a Sacrament, and a Sacrament of inauguration. He is enſtalled our Saviour, or by the Father, and the holy Ghoſt conſecrated to it. Onely for it was he the word incarnate, and gave his life and all for it onely. If all his undertakings tended thereto, then it is the full of all. A Name therefore

Auguſt in Epiſt. 1. Joan. tract. 3.

therefore above every Name to him is his Name Jesus.

If to him, certainly above all to us. For we fallen in *Adam* are subject to death temporall and eternall. Not so, as not to be, but so as to be tormented ever. Gods wrath is the consuming fire, and we the unconsuming fuell. His justice cannot, as we in our selves, looke on us in mercie, nor his mercie without justice. Satisfaction then must be some way made, or there can be reconciliation no way. We have nothing will doe it, if nothing sufficient may else where be had, we shall pay the utmost farthing. But God be thanked, the Sonne of God out of his impervestigable treasure brought enough, over and over, to adopt us into the peace of the blessed Trinity. Christ hath done this, and no other could. Not incidently this, but, *ex officio*, he was annointed unto the three saving offices, that he might be the absolute Jesus to save his people from their sinnes. His people, not the Jewes onely, but the Gentiles also. All are invited to him, *Mat.* 11. 28. and he is the Saviour of all men, 1 *Tim.* 4. 11. God in him reconcileth the world, 2 *Cor.* 5. 19. without him enemy to it, and us is God, *Heb.* 12. 29. His Name we hold by, and by no other our salvation, *Acts* 4. 12. If salvation then unto wretches guilty of the never-dying death be precious, of what worth is the Name that assureth it unto us? Can any thing be sweete above without it? or any thing below sowre with it? With it comfort, none without it in the Name of God. The Devill may object sinne against, and crosses come, as Wave after Wave, on us, yet if we adjure him by it, *rem Nominis implebit*, he will make good his Name. Bold we ought to be with it, for he hath commanded us to preferre his Name, and made a strong asseveration that whatsoever we aske of the Father in his Name shall be given us, *John* 16. 23. 24. It is our duty, and therefore no presumption to flie with it, *a Deo irato ad Deum placatum*, from God angry, unto him pleased, saith Saint *Augustine*. Such good speed have we, if our tongues carry it from our hearts by faith unto God, that the peace of God will rest within our soules here, and we shall rest in his eternall peace hereafter. So joyfull therefore was it to the Saints, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Fathers, that nothing sounded well without Jesus. *Jacobs* melody this, *Gen.* 49. 18. This *Davids* rest, *Psal.* 62. 2. *Simeon* exults

Matth. 7. 7. Marke 11. 24. Luke 11. 9.

August. in Psal. 74.

exults in this, *Luke* 2. 29. In this Saint *Paul* gloried. And this was more then life to Saint *Stephen*, *Acts* 7. 59. *Quicquid sine hoc Nomine fuisset non me totum rapiebat*, nothing tooke Saint *Augustine*, but this Name. And in Saint *Bernards* mouth it was, *mel*, honey, in his eare, *melos*, musicke, in his heart, *jubilus*, a jubilee. To whom salvation is highest, the Name of our Saviour is the highest Name. Who prise nothing before the one, will have no Name get above the other.

Aug. l. 3 conf. c. 4.

Bern. in Cant. ser. 15.

Nay none can get above it. I meddle not with the Relations. The *Super* of the Name I am about, and about it in the third respect. All the other Names of God admit a translation approved by the holy Ghost, but this endures none. *Forte ex omnibus unum*, as Saint *Bernard*, it may be all other are accumulated in it, and it is one of all. What containes all other, no other can containe it.

Bern. in circum. Domini serm. 2

First then, this Name is more then τὸ ἄῤῥητον, the ineffable Name of God among the Jewes, vulgarly called Jehovah. Not more, as if any thing in God did *Suscipere magis & minus*, and might be more or lesse. But more, as, *ad extra*, one worke is greater then another, Redemption, then Creation. The goodnesse of God is more expressed by this Name then any other. Jehovah indeed signifies God as Lord and Creatour, *Sed nihil nasci profuit nisi redimi profuisset*, yet it were better not to bee, then not to be redeemed. Or what profit is it with the Jew to acknowledge Jehovah, and not with the Christian to beleeve in Jesus?

Secondly, Redemption presupposeth Creation, and, not defining Redemption without the Father and the Holy Ghost, we say, the Name of the Redeemer includes with the Name of God the Creatour, the Name of man the Creature, and signifies God and man reconciled. Not on the contrary, though hee that redeemed created also. For *I am that I am*, is one expression, and *I am that I am* the Saviour, a further. God in his Name Jehovah denotes the being whence all things tooke their originall. In his Name Jesus he shewes himselfe not onely the Author of being, but the Recoverer of the lost, and Clarifier of the Elect. In the one he overthrew *Pharaoh* and the *Ægyptians*; in th other, the Devill and Hell. In the one he

he gave the Old Law, in the other he eſtabliſhed the New. In the one he led the *Iſraelites* through the Red ſea into the Land of *Canaan*; in the other through his bloud, wherewith we are Baptized, he carries us unto Heaven. The one was knowne before the other, and that this other was repreſented in the Name Jehovah, *Cornelius a Lapide* affirmes. But what if wee ſay that Jehovah were, *quaſi enigma*, as it were the riddle? Was not God מסתתר, ἄγνωστος, *Acts* 17. 23. the hidden God then? οὐκ ἤδειμεν, we knew him not, ſay the Seventy. Whatever Jehovah intimated, we are ſure Jeſus is the higheſt declaration. For by this Name we finde that the fulneſſe of the God-head dwels σωματικῶς, and our nature perſonally in him. I inſiſt not on the many Myſteries, that *Lucas Tudenſis* hath found in the Letters of Jeſus; nor doe I with *Cornelius a Lapide* averre that this proper Name of Chriſt in Hebrew containes all the Letters of Jehovah, *aliaſque proprias ſuperaddit*, and ſuper-addes its owne other. Inſpect them who will, there they may be had, but not expreſſely there.

Corn. a Lap. in loc. Iſay 45. 15. *Lucas Tuden. l. 2 c. 16.* *Corn. a Lap. in Num.* 13. 17. יהוה ישוע

Thirdly, this adequate Name of the word Incarnate comprehending tranſcends all the other many excellent Attributes given unto Chriſt in the Scriptures: for of all are found none which ſound not either, *pietatis gratiam*, the grace of piety, or *potentiam Majeſtatis*, the power of Majeſty. The Names of power are poured forth into the Names of piety. As for example, *Iſa. 9. 6.* it is ſaid, *His Name ſhall be called wonderfull, Counſellour, God, Mighty, Everlaſting Father, Prince of peace.* The firſt, third, and fourth, Wonderfull, God, Mighty, argue Majeſty; the reſt, Counſellour, Everlaſting Father, Prince of peace, ſhew piety. Which of theſe therefore is poured forth? Which? The Name of Power is abundantly effuſed by Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, ſaith Saint *Bernard*, into the Name of piety. Admirable into Counſellour, God and Mighty into Everlaſting Father and Prince of peace. All of might and mercie are full in Jeſus. This is the name wherein all other doe *liqueſcere*, it is mercie full of might, and might full of mercie. The Oyle that is poured forth, *Cant. 1. 3. aliiſque liquoribus ſupernatat*, and as Oyle it ſwimmes above other liquours, Wine, Water, or whatſoever. Inferiour to none, and above all, confeſſed in

Bern. in cant. ſerm. 17.

Heaven, Earth, and Hell.

Chrysost. in loc. Lastly, Saint *Chrysostome* saith, περὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας τὸ πᾶν ἴσασι, that this name is not of nature so, but made so by dispensation high. Seeing then the most equall three have decreed, and in the text expressely set this Name highest, wherein without disparagement to any one person the whole Trinity will be ever honoured; why doubt we? Adde this also, that they have limited an act, as peculiar to it, above other Names, and the holy Church observing our neglect, binds us to it; Can it be Gods pleasure, the Churches desire, and not our glory that it is so? Bring these together, and *Alphonsus Abulensis* shall never be condemned by me for saying, it is *majus peccatum*, a greater sinne to take the Name Jesus in vaine, then the Name God.

Alphon. Abulen. in 20. Exodi paulo ante quæs. 7.

To close this, God will be glorified in this Name above others, above other it is in it selfe, and to sinners the life of all. Life, light, joy, glory, and whatsoever I can conceive superexcellent, *hæc omnia mihi simul sonant, cum insonuerit Jesus*, these all, and more in the sense of this Name sound to me. When I name it, or heare it named, I minde one, whose example we following shall be advanced in his grace unto the height of glory. Have we, with *Origen*, found it to bee *vocabulum gloriosum?* In heart then, and hand; within and without, be it the Signet, that all our thoughts, words, and workes, may bee directed unto Jesus. Of him wee receive all, unto him returne we all. Above all he, and let his Name be so to us. For God hath given the Name above every Name unto him.

Orig. in Luc. Hom. 14.

Αὐτῷ. Αὐτῷ, to him, *exclusivè*, to him and to no other. To no other so as to him; The Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost are the three saving persons; yet neither is the Father, nor the Holy Ghost יהוה: The Sonne by the dispensation is Jesus onely. For in our Salvation the Godhead and Manhood meete in one. Nor to him man as to other men. To him at first, by the Spirit and *Moses*, in *Jehoshuah* as the Figure; But before his conception, by the Spirit, and the Angel *Gabriel*, to him as the Substance. To him the Name and the Thing. To him, the Sonne of his Father without a Mother;

ther; and the Sonne of his Mother without a Father, to him God and man. To him without ſinne to ſave ſoule and body, his owne and others, from carnall enemies, and ghoſtly, from ſinne and miſery; not for a time, for ever; not by any other, of himſelfe. He is not a Saviour onely, but τὸ σωτήριον, the ſalvation, *Luke* 2. 30. None challenge it as he, not the ſonne of *Nun*, nor the ſonne of *Joſedek*, nor the ſonne of *Syrach*. To them given by men, to them the Name, not the thing; to them ſonnes of their Fathers by their Mothers, of their Mothers by their Fathers; to them ſinfull men to ſave the body, not to quicken the ſoule, from bodily enemies, not ſpirituall, from ſome worldly calamity, not from ſinne; for a time, not for ever; by their and our Jeſus, not of themſelves. They, *figura futuri*, the ſhadow, he the ſubſtance. So *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Euſebius*, Saint *Auguſtine*, *&c.* He is ſo manifeſtly different from all other, that who beleeve in him will never miſtake him by any other. All elſe be like *Eliſhas* ſtaffe, which laid on the Child could doe no good till the Maſter came.

Tertul. adver. Jud. c. 9 & adverſ. Marc. l. 3. c. 16. Orig. in Exod. 17. 18. Hom. 11 Euſeb. demonſtr. Evang. l. 4. c. 29 Auguſt. cont. Fauſt. Manich. l. 12. c. 36.

To him onely, and to him according to both natures. This is orthodox, though all agree not in this.

Some here underſtand Chriſt, *ſecundum humanam naturam*, as man. Becauſe as God nothing can in time be really given to him. So the Scholiaſts, ſo *Theodoret*, *Hierome*, and others, as *Zanchius* recites. Indeed if we minde an increment of bleſſednesſe, or power, or wiſdome, &c. no ſuch thing can in time be given to him according to his Deity. Yet that he received nothing as God whereby our happineſſe might be furthered, and further knowne, is falſe. For to the Divine nature of Chriſt was the humane nature given, fitted, and perſonally united in time, *Heb.* 2. 16. To him according to both natures was given in time the office of a Mediatour betweene God offended and men offending. To him as God and man was the Name above all Names given, and in that Name doth the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoſt in time above and below of Angels and men receive the glory of our redemption, *Rev.* 5. 13.

Zanchi. in Phil. 2. 9.

Heb. 10. 5.

Saint *Ambroſe* and others expound it of Chriſt as the Sonne of God. *Hoc natus accepit ut poſt crucem manifeſtaretur,*

retur, quid a Patre, dum generaretur, acceperit, this Name he received being borne, that what he received of the Father in his generation might be manifeſted after he was crucified. That is, as *Zanchius* openeth the Fathers minde, in the eternall generation God the Father communicated to the Sonne that hee ſhould be true God, remaine ſo in the aſſumed fleſh, and after the Reſurrection be every where ſo proclaimed.

The truth is, both theſe are to be conjoyned. For he that was ever, יְשׁוּעַ, a Saviour according to his Deity, is now for ever, and, ἀναποδλήτως, inchangeably Jeſus according to his humanity alſo. Not that what the ſonne of God is, as the Sonne of man, is he. Chriſt, ὐυσιωδῶς, eſſentially God is man, ἑνωτικῶς, by the Union. The Deity is united really to the fleſh, but not communicated really. By the identity of the Perſon the Name reacheth both natures. Jeſus is the ſonne of God, and the Sonne of Man is Jeſus. *Tota res Nominis eſt perſona*, the whole thing of the Name is the Perſon. God onely is not it, nor onely Man it, God and Man, one Chriſt, is all. The Name then includes all the Attributes of God and Man, and more then of God and Man, *ſeorſum*, ſeverally, all of God and Man united.

And here the Argument for the exaltation of the Name is yet more evident. Such a perſon is Chriſt, as not the like, and therefore ſuch a Name is Jeſus as no ſuch. Not that this Name addes an higher degree to Gods eſſence, or to his eſſentiall glory. But this Name ſhewing the Union of God and man, ſhewes alſo that in this Name God will by his Church, in Heaven and on Earth, and by his enemies on Earth and in Hell, be moſt glorified. Nor that this Name doth make an inequality in the Trinity. For as Saint *Ambroſe* ſaid, on *Matthew* 11. 27. *Plus dixit de filio quam de patre, non quod plus habet, quam pater, ſed quod ne minus eſſe videatur*, the text ſpeaketh more of the Sonne then of the Father; not becauſe the Sonne hath more authority then the Father: but becauſe the Sonne ſhould not ſeeme to be inferiour to the Father. So is it ſaid,

Ambroſ. l. 2. de Sp. Sanct. c. 12

ſaid, the Father hath given all authority to him, and all things are put under him, 1 *Cor.* 15. 27. Not that he is exalted above the Father, but there is nothing which ſhall not be ſubject unto Chriſt, he excepted, who ſubjecteth all things to him. And though he be the Judge of quicke and dead, he is not Judge onely; but he and not the Father doth judge, *in forma viſibili*, in a viſible forme. So neither doth the Name given him above all names ſeclude the Father and the Holy Ghoſt from the act of Salvation, but ſheweth that our Salvation appointed by the eternall purpoſe was finiſhed in the perſon of the Son. And becauſe all was finiſhed in Jeſus, that Name is the Name, wherein the glorious Trinity, as appeares throughout the New Teſtament, will be honoured for ever and ever. So be it now and ever; and let all people ſay Amen.

The *Marcionits*, who affirme that Chriſt is not the Sonne of God the Creatour; the *Benoſians*, that he is an adopted Sonne; the *Samoſatenians*, that he was not God before the Incarnation; the *Nativitaries*, that he was with, before he was begotten of the Father; the *Symonians*, that he was not the word Incarnate; the *Sabellians*, that the Father was made fleſh; and the *Theodotians*, that what Chriſt was, was all mortall, are condemned at ἐχαείσατο· For the giving there, is the then manifeſting of God the Sonne in the fleſh. The *Jewes*, who terme Chriſt a Demoniake; the *Gnoſticks*, that ſeparate Jeſus from Chriſt, as two perſons; the *Menandrians*, that ſtiled *Menander* the Saviour of the World; the *Ophits*, that conferr'd the Name on the Serpent; and the *Sethians*, that attributed Salvation unto *Seth*, are condemned at ὄνομα· For that Name which no man could receive, who was not God alſo, none but God could give. The *Arrians*, who hold that Chriſt was God by grace; the *Donatiſts*, that deny him to be ἀυτόθεον, equall with the Father; the *Melchiſedecians*, that make him inferiour to *Melchiſedec*; the *Acatians*, that will have him onely like the Father in ſubſtance; the *Eunomians*, that thinke him in all things unlike the Father; the *Dulians*, that call him the ſervant of the Father; and our *Catharitts*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, *Preciſians*, who are ſo farre from eſteeming the Name above all Names, that they count it beneath all other

Names of Chriſt, and uſe the moſt ſacred Name Jeſus careleſly, very blaſphemouſly often, are condemned at τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα· For there Chriſt is conſubſtantiall with the Father, and the Name of Jeſus above every Name in many reſpects, is in no reſpect inferiour to any. The *Neſtorians*, that feigne one perſon of the Deity, another of the humanity; the *Apollinariſts*, that convert the word into the fleſh; the *Arrians*, that yeeld the Name to Chriſt as man made a God in repute, not as God made man indeed; and the *Jeſuits*, who preſumptuouſly arrogate Chriſts ſaving Name, are condemned at αὐτῷ· For to the Perſon of Chriſt, not to the one or other nature onely, to him onely, and to be for ever his, was the Name above all Names given. This and all we maintaine from διὸ καὶ, and ſtill the argument is the Union and our Salvation.

True Chriſtians we conſidering wherefore God exalted Chriſt, beleeve that for the Union and for us he ſpread abroad his Name. God and Man being knowne to be one, we know that men have grace with God. He being notified to us wee take notice of him. The Eſſence of things is brought to our underſtanding by ſecond notions. For in the cloud of our firſt fall, we ſo loſt the ſight of all things in their being, that now we ſee not the Eſſence but by expreſſion. Of the higheſt expreſſion the ſubſtance is the higheſt. That Name then, which containes all, God and us, and our ſalvation, is the fulleſt. That God fully manifeſted by the viſible ſending of the Holy Ghoſt, and that is acknowledged, in Heaven, on Hearth, and in Hell, to be Jeſus. This ſounds glory to God in the higheſt, on Earth peace to the elect, and in Hell terrour to the Devils. No name like this for ſweetneſſe; it brings God to us, and carries us to God. No Name like this in power; it delivers us not onely out of the power of our enemies, but chaines them in eternall torments alſo. To God, to us, in it ſelfe moſt delightfull. Nothing above it, and below it all things. Nor aſcribe we this to the ſecond intention, we receive it not without the firſt. The perſon with the Name, and not the Name without the perſon. Not part, but whole Chriſt apprehend we at the Name of Jeſus. Nor doe we extend it beyond the proper ſubject. The

Sonne

Sonne of *Nun* had it not, nor any other as Chriſt: Chriſt actively to ſave, others paſſively to be ſaved. They reſigned that they had to him, he will not reſigne his unto any. Who therefore impropriate this to be called thereby, againſt them we determine, that they endeavour, as much as in them is, to bring it beneath it ſelfe. It is blaſphemy not to regard it as his, much more to remove it from him. For God hath given him, and none but him, the Name, *which is above every Name.*

Tract. IV.

Ινα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ιησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ, &c.

That at the Name of Jeſus every Knee ſhould bow, &c.

WE are now proceeded from the exaltation of the Perſon and Name by God, unto the exaltation of the Name and Perſon by us. Which God exalted, we are here enjoyned by him to exalt both. Not the Name without the Perſon, nor either according to our humours, but after his preſcription. Not inwardly alone, and alwayes, nor outwardly alone at any time. Outwardly and inwardly, that who ſaved the outward and inward, may by both be acknowledged the Saviour of body and ſoule. The text is plaine, and the duty preciſely ſet. Firſt, of the *Knee*; *that at the Name of Jeſus it ſhould bow.* Secondly, of the *Tongue*; *that it ſhould confeſſe, that Jeſus Chriſt is Lord.* Nor is this of ſome, and not others, but of all and every one; *every knee*, and every tongue, in Heaven, on Earth, and under the Earth. All leaves out none. Nor let any thinke that any of this is in vaine, but to the higheſt purpoſe all. For the utmoſt end of the *knees* inſinuation, and the tongues expreſſion, is to the glory of God the Father. Hunt not after figurative conſtructions, beleeve the plain text, doe the worke faithfully; doe ſo, and you ſhall practiſe no more then yee ought, and the duty ſo done will redound to the Majeſty of the incomprehenſible Trinity.

There is not a tittle in Gods writings without weight. Every one is therefore to be pondered that ye may receive the fuller satisfaction; and that ye may, I will beginne with, *ἵνα*, that.

ἵνα.

That is the conjunction of this to the verse before: and, *è rationativis*, such a conjunction as is perfective, or declares the finall cause of the Antecedent say the Grammarians. *Quia est istud Nomen super omne Nomen, idcirco in Nomine Jesu omne genu flectitur*, because the Name is above every Name, therefore at the Name of Jesus every knee is bowed, saith *Origen*. *That* then makes the former verse the ground of this text. This text therefore must be understood according to the dependance on that. Literally that, and this literally.

Orig. in Isa. Nu. c. 1. Hom. 1.

All was full before. Full the person, God and man; full our redemption, God and Man reconciled; full his exaltation, as God and Man; and his Name full to expresse all. The full person, the full redemption, the full exaltation, the full Name, all and every one call for full acknowledgement. But full acknowledgement cannot be, if this text be taken tropically. It is mentall onely when the joynts are stiffe, and the tongue still: and though the service may be right to God in the heart, to others it is not at all knowne to be there without either outward subjection or confession outward. Yea where God hath manifested his Sonne to be the high exalted Saviour of soule and body, it is contempt, or at least neglect, if the body and soule doe not humbly in the Church shew themselves, as is commanded, to be his saved. *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, *Hierome*, *Chrysostome*, *Augustine*, *Cyrill*, *Bernard*, all the Fathers that ever I saw like this consequence, nor have I yet met with any late Orthodox Writer that contradicts it. I need not stand long on, *ἵνα*, *that*, the text is plaine. Wherefore God exalted him, therefore must we be humbled; and wherein thereof should we most highly esteeme. There is cause enough in the one to induce the other, and the sequell is so necessary, that without blasphemy no man can denie it.

For my part I dare not breake the generall rule of the Ancient and Moderne Churches to broach, and maintaine singularity. The perpetuall truth is that those places onely in the Old and New Testament are necessarily allegoricall, which either

ther in the Hiſtory, κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν, according to the letter, varie from the truth; or ἐν αἰτιολογίᾳ, in the explication of the cauſe, are repugnant to the Law of God. Gods third Commandement, and our Lords firſt Petition will have the moſt ſacred Name handled with all manner of reverence. I goe not then beſide the Analogy of the Scripture in following the ſimple ſenſe of this text; but ſure I am, who take it figuratively, chop off the viſible part of Gods ſervice, and ſhew no regard of the ſuper-exalted Name at all.

The Apoſtle would have us be imitatours of God, *Eph.* 5. 1. If imitatours, then whoſe perſon God exalted, and ſet forth his name, exalt we his Name and perſon. God his way, we ours. He by giving, we in acknowledging. If you doubt, read and beleeve. God hath highly exalted him, *and given him a Name above every Name*; Why? *that at the Name of Jeſus every knee ſhould bow.* This bowing at is one end, who is not wilfully blind doth plainely ſee.

In, ἵνα, *that*, having made good the ground, I am now ready for the worke. The Apoſtle could beſt place his words, and in our Dialect ſtanding right, I will not diſorder them.

Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ.

At the Name of Jeſus.

At which ſacred Name I humbly bow unto the bleſſed Trinity imploring the grace of the one-moſt God, that in the Name of Jeſus, by the power of the holy Spirit, I may interpret, and all learne this text to the glory of God the Father. Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι

The Syriack, the Vulgar, *Arias Montanus*, *Eraſmus*, read in the Name of Jeſus, *Beza*, *Zanchius*, and our Kings tranſlation, at the Name. Indeed the Hebrew is בשם and the Greeke ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι but the prepoſition according to both languages, which we in the generall ſenſe, as a note of reſt, tranſlate *in*, in Scripture varies often.

Sometimes it ſignifies *by*, as *Acts* 4. 10. 12. ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, *by the Name of Jeſus*, ἐν τούτῳ by it this man ſtands whole, and that is it, ἐν ᾧ, whereby we are ſaved. For ἐν with the Grecians, as ב among the Hebrewes, comprehends *genera cauſarum.* 1.

Sometimes *among*, as *Mat.* 11. 11. ἐν γεννητοῖς, among, not in them, 2.

them, that are borne of women, *John* 1.14. *The word was made flesh and dwelt*, ἐν ἡμῖν, *among us*.

3. Sometimes *with*, as *Luke* 4. 32. *his word was*, ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ, *with power*, 2 *Cor.* 13. 4. *we are weake*, ἐν αὐτῷ, *with*, not in, him. For in the next words it is said, *that we shall live*, σὺν αὐτῷ, *with him*.

4. Sometimes *from*, as *John* 1. 1. ἐν ἀρχῇ, that is, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, 1 *John* 1. 1. *from the beginning was the Word*. *Nonnus* therefore addeth in his Paraphrase, ἄχρονος, without, or before all time. For no time was in that beginning. So 2 *Cor.* 4. 3. *If the Gospell be hid, it is hid*, ἐν τοῖς, *from*, not in, *them, that perish*.

5. Sometimes it abounds, as *Marke* 1. 15. *repent and beleeve*, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, *the*, not in the, *Gospel*. Where therefore Saint *Matthew* hath ἐν ὕδατι, *Matth.* 3. 11. Saint *Luke*, that doth lesse Hebraize, leaves out the preposition. For *in casu instrumenti*, to expresse it, is an Hebraisme.

6. Sometimes it is periphrastically, as *Matth.* 6. 9. *Our Father which art*, ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, *in Heaven*, is if the Atticisme be observed in ὁ as well as the Hebraisme in ἐν, Our heavenly Father. *Acts* 26. 7. ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ, which the Vulgar hath omitted, is, ἐκτενῶς, instantly.

7. Sometimes, *to, unto*, &c. as *Luke* 1. 17. *He shall goe before to turne the disobedient*, ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων, *to*, not in, *the wisdome of the just*. *Rom.* 5. 21. *As sin hath raigned*, ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ, *unto*, not in, *death*, the ἀπόδοσις makes it plaine, *so might grace raigne*, εἰς ζωήν, *unto life*.

8. Sometimes *at*, as *Rom.* 8. 34. *who is* ἐν δεξιᾷ, *at the right hand of God*. *Matth.* 18. 1. ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, *at that time*. *Mar.* 16. 5. *they saw a young man sitting* ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς, *at the right side*. *Luke* 13. 1. ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ, *at the same season*, and 14. 1. ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν, *at his comming in*; nor have Grecians a more proper word to expresse this sense.

These are the severall acceptions of ἐν, which I have observed in the new Testament. The same they may finde in humane Authours, who are not satisfied with this.

To our purpose now: All will grant that, if we should translate in the Name, by in, could not be meant among, nor with; For that were non-sense. So of the eight variations, two are absolutely cast hence. But if in ἐν, we will understand by, or from,

from, then by the Name occaſion is offered, and from the Name a ſound argument drawne for bowing. Or will we have a Pleonaſme here, and make a redundance? for in caſe of the inſtrument in Hebrew, Greeke, and Latin, if *in* be expreſſed, it is not felt, if omitted, it is not required. The Name then expreſſed, or pronounced will be the externall impulſive of genuflection. Or if you will have it periphraſticall, it muſt either be of the Adverb, & then it is namely unto Jeſus; or of the Adjective, and then it is unto glorious Jeſus; or of the Verb, and then it is when Jeſus is named. Or will you have it to the Name; then it is in honour of the Name. Or will you have at the Name; then in, or at the mentioning of Jeſus. For what is a Name ſave the expreſſion of a thing? The Greek therefore is emphatically ſet downe, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, in or at the very Name. The very Name is the externall mover of the minde unto the internall object. Accept then any one of theſe ſixe takings, and the firſt terme of the Act is the Name Jeſus. That is it, becauſe the Apoſtle ſaith it was therefore given; and no other it, becauſe it is the Name above every Name, as before.

I would not ſeeme to dazle your eyes, I ſay not to the elements, the letters, ſyllables, or ſound of the Name, but to the ſenſe. At the Name, that is, when the Name is named, to the perſon whoſe Name is mentioned. At the Name we minde the perſon, and are incited to the duty. This divine motion therefore from the Name is by the Name directed to the end, wherein it reſteth. Nor can we ordinarily proceed otherwiſe. From Names we goe unto things, and without Names we know nothing was at large before.

Indeed God firſts exalts the perſon, and then gives the Name, he ſees the perſon as he is, but we by his Name diſcerne the perſon. At the Name beginning, by the moſt highly extolled Name moſt highly we extoll the perſon.

Shall I illuſtrate it? I will by that, which every one acknowledgeth to be juſt. In, or at, or by, or from the conſigned words of the Scriptures we know the truth of God thereby expreſſed; Becauſe we know whoſe they are, and what is contained in them, in, or at, or to the reading, preaching, and hearing of them we addreſſe our ſelves in all reverence with bended knees, uncovered heads, and with hearts, hands, and eyes lifted up unto the Authour. Is this damnable ſuperſtition? Or will any ſound-hearted

Chriſtian

Christian thinke it in vaine? Behold, the name at which we bow, discovers unto us the substance of the whole Scriptures. All are to bring us unto Christ, and Jesus is the sum of all. At the mentioning then of that Name were we left to our owne wils, would we not heare, and speak it with honour to our Saviour? Or did the Church only command the reverence thereat, is it not the breach of the first Commandement not to doe it? But God requires all manner of honour to his Name, *Exod.*20.7. Christ prayed for the due performance thereof, *Matth. 6. 9.* and here the Holy Ghost dictated in what Name the glorious Trinity will be most honoured, and how at that. Who gain-saies this, gain-saies the Law and Gospel, and who wilfully damneth it, doth, as much as in him lieth, shake the very foundation of true Religion. The Father will not have the Name neglected, the Sonne will have it sanctified, and the Holy Ghost shewes us how. The Father gave the Name, that at the Name; the Sonne received the Name, that at the Name: and the Holy Ghost declared the Name, *that at the Name of Iesus every knee should bow.* It is plaine then that to bow at the Name is another gift unto Christ. To give him such a Name is one; to give him, that for such a one, it should be taken, is another, said the reverend Bishop. For given it may be on Gods part, and not acknowledged on ours. Yea if we recall, *ἵνα*, the rationative particle, *that*, it seemes God counts not the Name so exalted, unlesse we signifie, as he would have us, that we esteeme it, *super omne Nomen*, above every Name.

Indeed they are not few, who make *in*, or *at*, a simple note of rest; and by the Name understand the person to whom they, and all must bow; yet will not onely not doe it themselves, but travell sore to keepe others also from it.

To discover how they deceive themselves, and others, observe me a little.

That in, or at is a note of rest; that the Name concludes the person; that to bow to the person is a precept, are true. But these, that the whole of in or at, is a note of rest; that the whole of the Name is the person; that the whole of the precept is to bow unto the person, are false. For the whole of in, or at, is not a note of rest, as before was proved. Nor is the Name the whole of the person, but significatively, nor the person the whole of the Name, but subjectively. Nor is bowing to the person the whole of the precept,

cept as hath beene already, and shall be further opened. But in the Name to bow, that is, in the person, is neither from the Letter, nor by any consequence of the Text. It is παραχρησικὸν, and will not hold in common sense. For who can bow in the person of God and Man? He once humbled himselfe for us, but who in his person, either when he was in swatheling cloathes, ever bowed before *Herod*, or, in the Councell falsely accused, before *Pilat*. Much lesse now he is exalted wants he such humility. Nay, who can bow at his person now he is out of our sight, and above our reach? His Name is with us, then in, or at his Name we may.

Yet in his person, they say, because in our proper persons we are unworthy to accede unto God.

A very proper shift to put off a peculiar duty. It is true, we are unworthy; but I grant not all the rest, unlesse at *in*, be understood *by*: For although what we are, we referre to Christ, and without him are nothing, yet this is no καταφύγιον, or refuge for the not doing what is commanded. Because it is the precept of God, not an institution only of the Church. The first word of this verse inferres the one, and πᾶν γόνυ, every knee, the other.

We therefore resting in Christ, who reposed all his in himselfe for us, every one in his proper person, body and soule, by the person intervening, worship God. For his Majesty, hid of it selfe, existing ἰσοδύς, essentially in Christ, through him becomes visible to us. But yeelding all this, that it is in, or by the person; or more, that it is to the person, and in the glory of the person, yet this is not all. For beside, τὸ πιστεύειν, faith or acquiescence in the person, and the end thereof, here implicitly, is expressely commanded a worke of faith beginning at the Name and ending in the Person. A worke that shewes his super-exaltation indeed. He is exalted to whose person we bow; but he, at whose Name onely, much more. Bowing then, not at the person onely, as some, nor at the glory onely of the person, as others, which are both out of our sight: Nor at the power onely of the person, as many, which sets no time for the act; but at the Name also which is below, and hath a time with us, we shew our high respect of him in his power, and glory.

Christ in loc. Yet thus respecting him, doe not with the Heretickes in Saint *Chrysostomes* time, thinke ἄνην δόξαν ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν δόξαν εἶναι, this glory to be above all glory. Infinite that as himselfe is, this from us finite. That he hath by nature, this we give, and no doubt should, at the Name. For God hath made his Name his memoriall, *Exod.* 3. 15. *Psal.* 135. 13. *Hosea* 12. 5. His memoriall wherein, or at he will be remembred, and whereby he will be mentioned. How remembred? How mentioned? With no regard? Not so. It brings him before us, how then shall we behave our selves before him? No otherwise, then did the *Israelites*, by bending downe the head, and bowing themselves, *Exod.* 4, 31. For the same memoriall is from generation to generation, as in the former quoted places. The Prophet *David* invites us to it, *Psal.* 95. 6. and the blessed Virgin will not have it otherwise handled, *Luk.* 1. 49 *Quod semper apud se sanctum est, sanctum etiam ab hominibus habeatur*, saith Saint *Augustine*. Holy things must be valued as they are. The most holy most highly. Not high enough unlesse with the motions of the mind goe also the gestures of the body.

August. de Spir. & Int. ad Marcel. c. 26.

Nor is this Doctrine new: It was figured in *Josephs* dreame, *Gen.* 37. ver. 9. *The Sunne, the Moone, and the eleven Starres made obeysance to me.* This *Jacob* interpreted thus: *Shall I, and thy Mother, and thy Brethren indeed come to bow downe our selves to thee unto the earth?* v. 10. How can this be taken, but in a mystery, his Mother being then dead? This was not therefore accomplished when *Joseph* was advanced in *Egypt*; For neither did his Father adore him, nor could his Mother being dead. *In Christi ergo persona facile intelligi potest etiam de mortuis*, In the person of Christ therefore it may be well understood, even of the dead, according to that of the Apostle, *Phil.* 2. 10. For God gave him a Name above every name, that in, or at the Name of Jesus every knee, celestiall, terrestriall, and infernall, should bow, saith Saint *Augustine*.

Aug. quæst. super Gen. 123. *l.* 1

The first that I find in the practise was *Moses*, and then when *Joshuah*, whom by the Spirit of God he so called, as a figure in Name and action of Jesus, fought with *Amaleck*. For whilst *Hoseas* now called *Joshuah* was in fight, *Moses*, being on the top of the hill, beholding the typicall deliverer, does homage to the substantiall

ſubſtantiall, *Exod.* 17. 11. *Expanſis manibus orabat reſidens, quia illi Nomen Domini Jeſu dimicabat, dimicaturi quandoque adverſus diabolum*; He there reſiding prayed, becauſe the Name of the Lord Jeſus, who was to fight againſt the devill, did skirmiſh there: and with his hands extended, to ſhew the neceſſary habit of the Croſſe, wherein Chriſt ſhould obtaine the victory, ſaith *Tertullian*. The Name which by the Spirit he gave to *Hoſea*, as the ſhadow, was the externall mover to the worke. And now the name was in action, the honour might well be in act. But not till now; becauſe till now, *Beati Nrminis Jeſu nuſquam facta eſt mentio*, never was that bleſſed name mentioned, ſaith *Origen*. Now it was knowne unto *Moſes*, and by him exalted now. Becauſe what he found victorious on the Hill, muſt needs be glorious on the Mount.

Tert. adver. Mar. l 3 c. 18.

Orig. in Exod. 17. & 18. Hom. 11.

With the Pſalmiſt his Name is great, *Pſal.* 75. 1. *Ibi magnum, ubi pro ſuæ majeſtatis magnitudine nominatur*, there great, where mentioned according to the greatneſſe of his Majeſty, as *Molerus*. Holy and reverend is his Name, *Pſal.* 111. 9. *Sanctum Nomen ejus, ubi cum veneratione & offenſionis timore nominatur*, holy his Name when named with veneration, and feare of offence, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*: So great, ſo reverend, that the Prophet *David* will have us extoll the Lord ביה שמו, in or at *Jah* his Name. How in or at? Even, *Laudabiliter nominando*, by mentioning it worthily. And ſo worthily that he invites us to bend the knee, לפניו, at the faces, repreſentations, or Symboles whereby he is principally knowne, *Pſal.* 95. 6. But he is principally knowne by the Name above every name; at the Name then, and in that ſpeciall manner. What was therefore propheſied and confirmed by oath, *Iſa.* 45. 23. is ſpoken of our Saviour in that Chapter: applyed to Chriſt, *Rom.* 14. 11. and fulfilled according to this Text, *Phil.* 2. 10. For that bowing to him in *Iſaiah*, without the mentioning of his Name, is here expreſſely at the Name. As if it had beene ſaid; to me, who am the Saviour, and though, when I will be in the fleſh, I ſhall be contemned; yet after my exaltation at my Name ſhall every knee bow.

Auguſt. de ſerm. Dom. in monte l. 2.

As theſe Texts then are paralleled by the Fathers, the laſt leaves not out the former, but ſets them forth unto the full. *Tertullian* thought ſo: There is, ſaith he, one Chriſt, *Ad quem ſe curvare ge-*

Tertul. l. 4. adv. Marc. de Marc. antitheſibus, c. 2.

nu plane omne fatetur, to whom every knee doth visibly shew it selfe to bow. Bishop *Andrewes* cou'd find no ancient Writer (save he that turned all into Allegories) but literally understands it. Save he, who is that? Indeed there are now extant that strangely transforme every Text which makes against them; but who, if the Parenthesis be his, must be understood there, I confesse I know not. Not *Origen* I am sure: for he speakes it out. *Quia Nomen Jesus est super omne nomen, idcirco in nomine Jesu omne genu flectitur*; because the Name Jesus is above every name, therefore at the name of Jesus every knee is bowed. Againe, *Non in hoc vocati sumus, &c. ut genua flectamus diabolo, sed ut flectamus genua in nomine Domini Jesu*, we are not called unto this, that we should bow the knees unto the devill, but that we might bow the knees at the Name of the Lord Jesus. Againe, *Vocabulum Jesu omni adoratu, cultuque appel ari, &c.* the glorious Name of Jesus ought to be named with all manner of adoration and worship. And againe, *Omnes hi qui in Nomine Jesu flectemes, per hoc ipsum subjectionis suæ insignia declararunt*, all these who are bowers at the name of Jesus, by this very thing have given notable tokens of their subjection. Saint *Cyprian* is as plaine: God the Father commanded that his Sonne should be worshipped, and the Apostle Saint *Paul*, mindfull of the precept, *Ponit & dicit in Nomine, &c.* sets downe how, and saith, at the Name. *Novatianus* saith, *omne se in Nomine ejus genu flecteret*, every knee should bow it selfe at the name of him. Saint *Athanasius* tels us, the Sonne of God, *Homo factus & Jesus appellatus*, made man, and called Jesus, hath this honour, that every Creature doth *flectere sibi in Nomine suo*, bow the knees to him at his Name. And in another place he saith, that the Church did, and shall bow *in nomine Jesu*, at the name of Jesus. Saint *Ambrose* hath no other Exposition of it; nor other hath *Ruffinus*. Saint *Hierome*, on the Text, *Unto me every knee shall bow*, recites this of the Apostle, and saith, *Perspicue significatur populus Christianus*, there is plainely signified the Christian people. *Moris enim Ecclesiastici, &c.* For so to bow is the custome of the Church. Saint *Chrysostome* denies it not to be the glory of Christ, but saith it is not δόξα ὅλως, the highest glory to bow at his name. Saint *Augustine* affirmes that Christ after his suffering received, *Quæ consequenter contexit Apostolus*, all that

Orig. in Jes. Nave. c. 1. Hom. 1. In Iudic. c. 2. Hom. 2.

In Luc. c. 2. Hom. 14.

De principiis. l. 1. c. 6.

Cypr. de bon. patient.

Novat. de Trinit. c. 17.

Athanas. cont. Arria. orat. 2. ad Episc. Egyp. & lib. Ad Adelph. ora. 5.

Ambros. Hexæ. l. 6 c. 9. et in loc.

Ruffin. in Sym. Apostol.

Hierom. in Isa. 45. 23.

Chrysost. in loc.

August. de Trin. l. 1. c. 13. & in Psal. 109. et in Joh. Tract. 104.

the

the Apostle by consequence hath linked together at *Philip.* 2. 9, 10, 11. As if the Exaltation of his person appeared not, but by our Exalting of his Name. *Cyrillus Alexandrinus* cals it, προσλάλημα τὸ τῦ χεισῦ μυςήριον, a most significant Sacrament, declaring that Christ one, is God in, and with the humane nature, ὑπάρχων ὁλῶ, remaining still what he was before. And at the same councell of *Ephesus*, in his Oration he saith, this is illustrious to shew that Christs obedience made him, ἐυκλεᾶτα καὶ ἀξιάγαστον καὶ τῦ παντὸς ἡμῖν προξενον ἀγαθῦ, both glorious, and worthy of admiration, and conciliative of all goodnesse unto us. The Fathers in the Councels render it in, or at the Name, and I find it not otherwise interpreted in any Church. It seemes there was either neglect, or irreverent performance of it among some at the time of the Councell of *Basil.* For there it was constituted, that when the glorious Name of Jesus was mentioned, whereat every knee ought to bow, *Omnes caput inclinent*, all should bow the head. The devout faithfull, *audito Nomine*, hearing the name Jesus bow the head, or bend the knee, so *Alphonsus Abulensis*. According to the custome of the ancient Christians, *Soli Nomini Jesu, quando nominatur, fit reverentia*, reverence is done to the Name, when it is named, so *Estius*. We bow the knee and uncover the head, *Ad mentionem Domini Jesu*, at the mentioning of the Lord Jesus, so *Osiander*. *In hoc Nomine, quod est Jesus*, at this name, which is Jesus, so *Gorran*. *Musculus* tels us, *Omnino in usurpatione Nominis Dei declaratur, quam sancte & reverenter de Deo sentiamus*, that the usage of Gods Name doth declare our esteeme of God. For he that Religiously thinkes of him, cannot usurpe his name irreligiously. You shall see many, saith he, that will put off their caps, and shew some other token of reverence, when any mention is made of the King, to declare how reverently they doe judge of their Ruler. And among Christian men you may find many that make mention of God the Father, of his Sonne Christ Jesu our Lord and Saviour, and of the Holy Ghost, and heare it also of others without any token of honour. *Stupiditas ista plane indicium leniter de Deo sentientis, quicquid tandem ore proferatur*, this blockishnesse doth verily betoken a light opinion of God in heart, whatsoever be said in word. I know Master *Calvin* is of no small esteeme, and he brings this for an argument of our Saviours Deity; that God 1 4 11.

Cyril. Alexand. in lib. Relig. Reg nuncupat.

In orat. Relig. Reg. de recta fide.

Concil. Basil. in sess. 21.

Alphons. Abul. in Exod. 20. *paulo ante quæst.* 7.

Estius ex Vinc. de Valent. in Phil. 2. 10.

Osiand. in Phil. 2. 10.

Gorra. in loc.

Musc. in 3. *præcep.*

Calv. in loc.

God gave a Name to his Christ, whereat every knee should bow. If *Zanchius* have any repute, it is required, that signification of reverence be given, *ad Nomen Dei cum profertur*, at the Name of God when it is pronounced, as many men doe when they heare the name of their King. May he be of note among us? then in, or at the name, is, *ad solam mentionem Nominis*, at the onely mentioning of the Name of Jesus, for so he expounds it. Nor doubted he, but thence the most ancient custome arose in the Churches, that when Jesus was named, *Omnes aperiant caput*, all men should uncover their heads in testimony of adoration. What though the Sorboniists, Rhemists, Papists, hold it a duty of the Text? Shall not we therefore, and without superstition we? See what *Conradus Vorstius*, in behalfe of the Reformed Churches, writeth. *Si quis ad mentionem Dei, aut Christi, aut Jesu, &c. signum aliquod honoris exhibere velit, per nos sane licet, idque passim in Ecclesiis nostris fieri videmus, nemine reclamante, nemine indignante.* If any man will at the Name of God, or of Christ, or of Jesus, &c. exhibit some token of honour, truely among us it is lawfull, and we see it every where done in our Churches, no man disclaiming, no man disdaining it. Nor did Master *Calvin*, what ere the Schismatickes say, reprove the Sorbon Sophisters, for bowing at the name, but for bowing at the sound, not to the sense; as there *Vorstius* testifieth.

Zanch. in 3 pr. cap.

In Philip. 2. 10

Conrad. Vorst. pro Eccles. Orthod. disp. 2 par. 5. 6.

If we come unto our owne Churches, at the first yeare of Queen *Elizabeth*, 1559. it is injoyned, that whensoever the Name of Jesus shall be in any Lesson, Sermon, or otherwise in the Church pronounced, due reverence be made of al persons, young and old, with lowlinesse of curtie, and uncovering of heads of the mankind, as thereunto doth necessarily belong, and heretofore hath beene accustomed. In the first of King *James* of blessed memory, 1603. both the Vniversities, *Oxford*, and *Cambridge*, doe affirme, that reverence done at the Name of Jesus is no superstition, but an outward signe of inward subjection to his divine Majesty, and apparent token of our devotion. In the Synod begun at *London*, 1603. it is thus expressed: When in the time of Divine Service the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath beene accustomed. This was among the rest published under the Great Seale of *England*, hath continued, and is still in force, for ought I know, at these times.

Injunct. 52.

Cap concerning the matter of the complaint of some Puritans, *part.* 10. *Can.* 18.

Doctor

Doctour *Whitaker* did honour at the Name of Jesus; Bishop *Whitgift* saith, to bow at the name is of many hundred yeares continuance, and Christians used it in the beginning. Doctour *Willet* allowes it, when the minde is free from superstition; So doth Doctor *Fulke*, Doctor *Airy*, Doctor *Byes*. The most learned Bishop *Andrewes* will satisfie any man that shall not be willfully blinde. Master *Hooker* cals it harmelesse, there is no superstition at all in it. Doctor *Page* refuteth all Master *Prynns* arguments, and justifies bowing at the Name of Jesus, most Christianly and Learnedly. Master *Giles Widdowes*, maintaines it stoutly against the lawlesse, kneelesse Schismaticall Puritan. And it at this day is Preached and practised by the most learned in the Kingdome.

Dr. *Whit. cont. Rainold. refut. c. 16.*
Dr. *Whitg.* in his answer to T. C. in the defence of the answer to the Admonit.
Eccles pol. l. 5. Nu. 30.
Dr. *Page Justific.* of Bowing.
Widd. in confu. of an Appendix concerning bowing at the Name of Jesus.

In all Churches, old and new, Easterne and Westerne, Romish and Reformed this Exposition hath beene well liked. Master *Cartwright* knew not what to say against it, and therefore his followers cannot abide it.

We dare not so much as speake of an earthly King unreverently. Dare we not? Then what reverence doe we owe unto Christ the King of Heaven and Earth? saith Master *Perkins* on this Text. We owe much indeed, and have promised much, but God helpe, we performe little, and our little performance hath made a great disturbance in the Church of *England*. So great that this very duty of the Text is by too many held superstition. Certainely there is irreligion in them that so vainely handle the Text, but in the duty can be no superstition. For the Apostle saith it is done at the Name unto the glory of the Father. From whom it hath beginning, in him it ends. Where it is so done, is no vaine honoring of that which should not be honoured, and therefore no superstition.

Mr. *Perkins* in his exposition of the Creede.

But grant there hath beene superstition used in it, as *Zanchius* saith, there was in bowing of the head, and many other godly constitutions. Suppose there hath, must therefore the divine institution be cast away? In running after Sermons is there not superstition among a great many now? What will you doe then? will you abandon hearing? God forbid. Remove, saith Bishop *Andrewes*, the superstition; and retaine Sermons still. Doe but even so here, and all is at an end. We may be in fault, the duty can be in none. If the fault be in us, we ought to amend. Gods prescription may not be annihilated for our miscarriage. It is excellent

Zanch. in Loc.

lent to sweepe superstition out of the Church, but chiefe wisdome not to sweepe any of Gods Religion out with it. Reverence begins to abate on all hands, I pray God, that we by this guile of the devill may never lose our Religion.

It is not the crying superstition, and damnable superstition, that can make it such. Stop we our eares at such foule blasphemy: Looke to the Text, follow it, and pay, as God requireth, a reverent carriage even to his Sonnes Name. What God hath exalted, exalt we and feare not. For God being honoured by it, we, at the generall day, shall, when all knees must bow at once, find comfort, that we on earth have so bowed at the Name of Jesus.

What the Name signifies, and why at this name rather then any other, was in the former Verse.

If any insinuate the minde, that thus exalting the Name, I preferre one person before another in the Trinity: It is answered, that cannot be. For God will have us this way declare that we acknowledge Jesus to be Lord equall with the Father, and the Holy Ghost; and that he received this Name, ἀνθρωπίνως, according to his humane nature, which he ever possessed in himselfe according to the divine. The Text therefore is not simply at the name, but at the Name of Jesus. Which is the Name of one person consisting of two natures, divine and humane, as before.

Ιησοῦ.

At the Name then *of Jesus* inferres that the whole person is to be adored; the word and the flesh, ὡᾷ τιμῇ, with one and the same honour, as the Fathers in the Councell of *Ephesus* defined. The worship may not be divided, because undivided is the person. Yet true it is, that the Godhead, by and of it selfe simply, ought to be worshipped, and not the flesh, save in the person, and for the Godhead. But seeing the Apostle directs the worship to the whole person, "*Non est cur ab adoratione deitatis separetur caro*, there is no reason why the flesh should be separated from the honour of the Deity, saith *Zanchius*. And if it be ἐυκλεὴς τῷ πατρὶ, honorificall for the Father to have his owne Sonne, κύριον πάντων, Lord of all; Who can doubt, saith *Cyrillus Alexandrinus*, but that he kept for him, τὸ ὑπερτερεῖς ἀξίωμα, the free and superexcellent dignity of power and domination above all?

Concil. Ephes. Anathe. 8.

Zanch. in loc.

Cyril. Alexan. de recta fide ad Relig. Reg.

In this adoration then is nothing taken from the Father, or from the Holy Ghost, and given to the Sonne? nor any thing given to the Son, which is not equally to the honour of the three

persons

perſons in the unity of the eſſence. But hereby is manifeſted, that the perſon vilified in this Name, was the Sonne of God and Man, and is now in the ſame Name to be adored by all as God and Man, which cannot be ſaid of the Father, or of the Holy Ghoſt. Of the Sonne alone, becauſe he onely was incarnate, and yet, as I have ever taught, to the glory of the moſt tranſcendent Trinity.

It is apparent now, that we cauteloufly obſerving the idiotiſme vary not from the ſenſe of the phraſe. At the Name we reſt not vainely in the ſound, but are carried to the ſubſtance of the name, or object of our faith, the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt. Not to the humane nature, *Seorſim, & per ſe*, ſeverally, and by it ſelfe. For ſo doing we divide the perſon, overthrow the communication of proprieties, and the due unto the Creator we render to the creature, which is Idolatry. Yea, if in our worſhip we can conſider the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoſt, three ſubſiſtences, and one ſubſtance; yet all this availes not, unleſſe we take with us our Mediatour. If we mind not a true Man-hood, glorioufly united to the God-head, without change of either nature, without mixture of both, whoſe preſence, whoſe merits muſt give paſſage, vigour, and acceptance, our prayers aſcend in vaine. At this worke thoughts ſhould be holily mixed of a God-head and humanity, two natures in one perſon, and of the ſame Deity in divers perſons, and one nature. Beſtirre our ſelves we ought ſo to diſtinguiſh theſe apprehenſions, that none be neglected, ſo to conjoyne them, that they be not confounded. We ſin, if fixing the heart on one, we exclude the other: retaining all and mentioning one we offend not. Who reſt their thoughts upon the humanity muſt ſtill adore the Deity, and thence climbe up unto the holy conſideration of the bleſſed Trinity. For in Jeſus onely is that Myſtery revealed to us, and through him onely is our worſhip directed to the ſacred Trinity in Unity. Following this ſhort weake counſell, ſtudy and pray that you may apprehend right, and worſhip well. Be thus minded, and bowing at the name you ſhall not be ſuperſtitious. Bow and honour Jeſus heartily: for the more we honour him, the more we honour the whole Trinity. If you cannot beleeve me, yet let not the Apoſtle miſſe your faith. It is Gods command, he ſaith, and therefore our duty. Minding the one, we ſhall not forget to pay the other. Ende-

vour we to pay it sincerely, and the God of Heaven direct us, enable us, that when we worship him, we may neither prove sacrilegious nor idolatrous.

The Jewes, Infidels, and Philosophers, that abjure, scorne, and deride the Name of Jesus; the Schismatickes, whether Catharists, Anabaptists, Brownists, Separatists, or whatsoever called, that neglect, and contemne all manner of outward reverence at this Name; the Papists, that superstitiously use it, and the Prophane, that in their debauchednesse, most impiously blaspheme it, are condemned at ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι for there the Holy Ghost will have the Name super-exalted by God, by us also super-exalted with respect and honour. The *Arrians*, and other Heretiques, that hold Christ a meere man onely, or a God in Name, not indeed; the *Cerinthians* and *Colarbasians*, that make Jesus one, and Christ another; the *Nestorians*, that determine two persons in Christ, one of the divinity, and another of the humanity; the *Timotheans*, that thinke him one person of two natures mixed and confounded; and the *Romanists*, that constitute the Pope, as another head, beside Christ, of the Church, are condemned at Ἰησοῦ· for the honor at the Name is to *Immanuel*, in one person perfect God, and perfect Man. God hath so made him head of all, above and below, that *at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow*. This and all we maintaine from ὃθὲ ϗ, and still the argument is the union, and our Salvation.

True Christians we seeing that God hath exalted the person and the Name, and knowing why, are bound in conscience for the same reason to exalt the Name and Person. Not according to our owne humours, but in Analogy of that Truth, which is set forth for us to beleeve and doe. We seeke no by-wayes to avoyd the duty, nor lead we others from it. A plaine Text paralleled by others literally, must we understand properly, as the other are. The truth expressed in the Letter cannot be mistaken, but by a figurative construction the Letter may be forced to a wrong sense. The sense of the former verse, which is the ground of this, being literall, makes this literall also. We have proved it ever so conceived in the Church, and will not alter it now. Nay dare not; because we are sure that by the third commandement, and the first petition Gods Name, whether spoken, read, heard, or written, must have reverent usage. And if it must, may we deny that manner,

ner, which himſelfe hath expreſſely preſcribed? The anathema ſounds ſtill in our eares, Curſed be he, that taketh from, or addeth to. If God then will have outward worſhip exhibited at the Name, in the Name of God let him have it. If he will be ſo honoured, that is reaſon enough, why he ſhould. But he hath given reaſons ſtore, if we will not doe it now, we are now in contempt, and without repentance ſhall be without excuſe hereafter. Nor may we thinke to leave the duty undone, becauſe ſome count it ſuperſtition. Indeed at the Name, and no more were vaine. But at the Name to *bow* unto our Saviour is one way we worſhip him, and we have no other way to come at him, ſave by his Name. He is gone, his Name is left, that by his Name we may minde him, and through him adore the bleſſed Trinity. At the Name therefore let the heart aſcend unto the perſon, and outward obeyſance expreſſe our faith in, and high eſteeme of whole Chriſt. As true God, and true man; for as God and man he is exalted in perſon and Name, *that at the Name of Jeſus every Knee ſhould bow.*

Tract. V.

Πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ

Every Knee ſhould bow.

GOD who made the whole creature, lookes after all he made. The ſoule principally, becauſe it principally reſembles him: and the body next; becauſe in that Organ he will have the ſoule glorifie him, 1 *Cor.* 6. 20. The Fathers therefore according to the Scriptures carefully ſet forth a two-fold worſhip of God. Internall the one, externall the other. Both congruous to the word, and from a heart purified by faith proceed both. Both ſpirituall, becauſe both are motions of our ſpirit renewed by the Holy Ghoſt. For ſuch worſhippers will God have, as ſhall ſerve him in ſpirit and truth. *John* 4. *verſ.* 23. Such as in ſpirit practically mortifie the workes of the fleſh, and in truth contemplatively maintaine ſound doctrine, is one of *Theophylacts* expoſitions. Such as moved by his Spirit doe all things ſincerely in faith, according to his will, and unto his glory, is *Polanus* full interpretation. Such as include not God, like

Theophyl. in Joh. 4. v. 23.

the *Samaritanes*, in a certaine place onely; in spirit therefore, not locally: and such as worship not, like the Jewes, in the vanished shadowes; in truth therefore, not typically, is the generall consent of Divines. Who then by this text exclude all outward worship, doe both wrong it, and teach their owne ignorance. Because the outward worship is not separated from the inward, but with it proceeding from the spirit, with it also is spirituall. Not Saint *Pauls*, πρὸς ὀλίγον ὠφέλιμος, corporall exercise good for little, but, πρὸς πάντα ὠφέλιμος, the godlinesse profitable unto all things. 1 *Tim.* 4. 8. *Quid mihi prodest si genua corporis mei ad orationem veniens flectam Deo, & genua cordis mei flectam diabolo?* For what doth it profit me, saith *Origen*, if comming unto prayers I bow the knees of my body unto God, and bend the knees of my heart to the Devill? He meaneth, not that the knees should not bow, but not bow without the heart. Without the heart the outward worship, οὐκ ἔχει κέρδος, gains nothing; Joyne both, and the pious act, τὸ καρπὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ἀποδίδωσι, gives fruit in time to come, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀναπαύει, καὶ ἐκεῖ, and doth now refresh, and then, saith Saint *Chrysostome*.

Orig. in Iudic. 2. Hom. 2.

Chrysost. in Epi. 1. Tim. c. 4 v. 8.

Of the body it, therefore bodily it; not of the body onely, and therefore is godly. Going with the minde it is holy by the Spirit that sanctifieth the soule. *Whom God hath joyned together, let no man put asunder*, soule and body in his service. For true Christian obedience comprehends, *totos nos*, us whole. *Quanti quanti sumus*, we, such compounds, as God made us, ought in all things, and with all we are, simply to submit unto his pleasure. What and as he wils, is required of us in the powers both of soule and body.

Indeed *Prov.* 23. 26. Wisdome cals for the heart; but not for it onely. For, in the very same verse, it is said, the eyes must observe. God will have every member faithfull in its office, the heart and all; not all, or any of them without the heart. The heart is most acceptable, yet the rest are not left at randome. They subordinate, the principall being right, will be conformable all; chast the eyes, obedient the eares, undefiled the lips, pure the hands, and flexible the knees. Every one according to the use, more or lesse, is charged in the Scriptures. To a more speciall use more specially some. The Knee and Tongue here, because they are fittest for the worke in hand; The Knee for humiliation, and for confession the Tongue.

I free

I free not any man from this duty, the Holy Ghoſt by the Apoſtle hath bound, πᾶν, every one. None are exempted, not one of the Miniſtery, nor one of the Laity, not one of the Lords, nor one of the Princes; learned, and unlearned, meane, and mighty, let all looke to it. All, *Pſal.* 22. 29, 30. All, *Iſa.* 45. 23. All, *Rom.* 14. 11. and here every Knee of things in Heaven, in earth, and under the earth. Above the earth I teach none, and under the earth none will be taught. We are in the midſt, and of us all and every one make a full comprehenſion whereſoever we are. No man hath a priviledge not to doe it, nor will ſimple ignorance, much leſſe wilfull, excuſe the neglect. For who preferres not the Name, which God hath given Chriſt, *above every Name*, puts the lie on him. God ſaith it is above every Name, yet there be, that ſay it is not. Here is high contradiction, and being it is ſuch, I beleeve God, who will not may doe what they pleaſe. By the grace of God I doe, who doe not, and doe hinder others, ſhall, at laſt, in horrour, if mercie prevent not, be compelled unto it: For, for ſuch ill agents ὑπόκρισις ἀγνοίαν καταλαμβάνειν, is no ignoſcence left, ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtome*. No ancient Fathers, no moderne Divines gaine-ſay this. πᾶν. *Chryſoſt. in loc.*

O, how excellent is it for every one to practiſe that in the time of grace, which all confeſſe ſhall be in full execution at our entrance into glory! Aſſure your ſelves nothing may be required of every one then, which is unlawfull for any one now. For grace, and glory differ not in eſſence, but degrees. The nearer therefore the Militant Church commeth to the Triumphant, the more perfect ſhe. Perfect here no man can be, yet that every one ought to contend unto perfection is very Apoſtolicall. Not in one thing onely, and not in others, in every thing, as is revealed, the action and manner ſhould be obſerved by every one.

God ſpeakes not without purpoſe we all know, take we heed then, leſt any of us heare with a purpoſe not to doe as he ſpeaks. Much hath beene ſaid of this duty, and much more followes. God give us obedient hearts, that our reverend eſteeme of the Name, which he hath ſuperexalted, may appeare before men to his glory, and our peace. Remember who have learned, and amend who have neglected. It is no ſhame for either ſexe, old or young, to deceive the Devill. *The white Devill* ſaith it is Idolatry to bow at the Name. The Holy Ghoſt ſaith, *At the Name of Jeſus*

sus every Knee shall bow. What will we doe? Can any Christian doe other then obey God? If the Name be an Image, it is metaphorically, and can it not be so, and be not an Idoll? Can men be so injurious to their Saviour, as to thinke that, whom he sent to beginne, and further our devotions will beguile us in them? God forbid: Submit every one therefore to the motion of the Spirit: give Jesus his honour, and the Devill will flie. A lier he from the beginning, and so shall appeare in the end.

The universality will be at full in the severall rankes: the subjection is next, γόνυ κάμψη, *the Knee should bow.*

Γόνυ. It is ברך in the Hebrew, because it hath the peculiar faculty of bowing. Another part may bow and nothing else with it, but if the Knees once bow, all the members are in submission. For *in genibus, vel in nervis, & musculis circa genua, consistit robur corporis,* in the knees, or in the nerves and muscles about the Knees, consists the strength of the body, as *Schindler.* If they then yeeld, no member of the body doth stand out. Γόνυ, therefore, say Etymologists, as well, παρὰ τὸ κονεῖν, for the energie there, as, παρὰ τὸ πρὸς γῆν νεύειν, for the inclination, or proneneſse toward the earth. The Knees are made to sinke downe the whole frame, and enabled to raise it againe, and uphold it standing. For they are *commissiones femorum, & crurum,* as *Isidore,* the setting together of the thighs and legs. The strongest supporters are united by them. By them onely are they at once humbled, and being humiliated, are at once advanced by them onely.

Schind. ad radic. ברך.

Isid. Etym. l.11.c.1.

But it is not my part to Anatomize the Knees: *Plinie* can tell us, *hominis genibus quædam religio inest,* and to teach that God careth for our Knees, and will be served by them, is mine. By the *Knee* properly, and really. There is no Metonymy, nor Metaphor in the word. The materiall I intend, and all that riseth and fals with it. Because the action is reall and proper, as the Hebrew word, תִּכְרַע, *Isa.* 45. 23. doth declare. For כרע, signifies, *inclinationem capitis cum aliqua parte corporis,* a bowing of the head with some part of the body, as *Schindler* expounds it. This suits with our bowing at the Name of Jesus, and may answer them who object the *Easter* stations in the Primitive Church injoyned by the Councell of *Nice.* For standing there opposeth sitting or lying downe, or kneeling on the ground, but not this kinde of bowing. Stand and bow thus we may, and so they did,

Plin. Nat Hist. l.11.c.45.

Κάμψη. *Schind. ad radi.* כרע:

Con. Nicæ. Can. 20.

did, as is to be ſeene in the collections of *Alphonſus Piſanus*. *In oratione Diei Dominici à Paſcha uſque ad Pentecoſten, &c. non oportet flectere genua, ſed ſtantes orare & inclinari*, at prayer on the Lords day, from the Paſſeover to Pentecoſt, &c. they were not permitted to kneele or ſit, but ſtanding they prayed and bowed. The very ſame words hath *Franciſcus Turrianus* in his Tranſlation of the *Nicene* Canons out of the Arabick. But if we looke a hundred years further, *Tertullian* may be ſeene oppoſing the Stations unto Proceſſions. *Nonne ſolennior erit ſtatio tua, ſi & ad aram Dei ſteteris?* Will not thy ſtaying be more ſolemne, if alſo thou ſtay at the Altar of God? They were not therefore called ſtations, becauſe there might be no bowing; But being times of publike Convents were termed *Stationum dies*, becauſe in them all the godly were commanded, *ſtare in Eccleſiis diutius*, to abide longer in the Churches, and humbly appeare before the Lord at the Sacred actions, ſaith *Junius*. Ioyne theſe, and as there was no bending the Knees to ſit, ſo neither was there walking ſuffered, nor going forth before the participation of the Sacrifice, and execution of the office. All other geſtures of reverence, as lifting up the hands temperately, bowing the head and other members in humility, &c. I finde in uſe. Our practiſe then is not croſſed by their Stations, their Stations reprove our running out and in at the time of Divine ſervice: Nay, they proclaime our ſitting moſt irreligious, *niſi exprobramus Deo quod nos oratio fatigaverit*, unleſſe we upbraid God that his ſervice hath wearied us, ſaith *Tertullian*.

Con. Nicæ. Can. 29. per Teſtionem & Theariſt. Conſtan. de græc. obſerv.

Can. Nicæ. Fran. Turri. Can. 29.

Tertul. de Orati. c. 14.

Fran. Iun. Not. in Tertul. ibid.

Tertul. ibid. c. 13.

Tertul. ibid. c. 12.

Our purpoſe is not loſt, nor are we diverted from it. There was ever corporall bowing unto God, and I beleeve the Hebrew word we ſtand upon is never taken improperly in the Old Teſtament. A Synecdoche I know is in it; part is put for the whole, one outward act for the outward and inward. And if I ſay this one principall implies all other, uncovering the head, humbling the face, lowlineſſe of curſie, &c. I ſtill keepe the ſimple ſenſe, and erre not. Not from the Morall Law, for in the negative precept, Exod. 20. 4. השתחוה, the very loweſt humiliation, even of the face to the earth being forbidden, no other may be admitted before Idols. Nor from the meaning of Chriſt in the Goſpel, for, προσκύνησις, Matth. 4. 10. adoration, concludes all the externall ceremonies of worſhip. Nor from the *Septuagint* at *Iſa.* 45. 23. for they render it γόνυ. Nor from the Apoſtle at *Rom.* 14. 11. and *Phil.* 2. 10. for he followeth the

the Seventy, and κάμψις thus referr'd is even an outward expreſſion of true humility, or pretended within.

If we obſerve tranſlations, in the Vulgar we ſee the *Knee* muſt be bowed, and ſo in *Arias Montanus*. If it will not, it ſhall be made to *bow*. The Syriack ſaith, it *ſhould bow*, ſo doth *Eraſmus*, *Beza*, *&c.* if it doe not, it ought to *bow*. Some Paſſively, Actively others, the word carries both, and the difference makes no oddes.

If the Fathers call it ſubjection, adoration, or worſhip; what if they doe? May it not therefore come at the body? Nay, the outward bowing proceeding from the lowly minde, unto the right object is the reall and full ſubjection, adoration, or worſhip, which God requireth at the Name. For the bowing of the *Knee* is not onely a ſigne of inward ſubjection, but being with the heart is true ſubjection it ſelfe.

Adoration it is, and to adore is to honour in the higheſt degree, that is with the loweſt expreſſion. For in adoration is ever implyed a threefold act. Firſt, an apprehenſion of excellencie: If there be no preeminence, it is adulation. Secondly, an acknowledgement of what is ſo apprehended; If the acknowledgement be not ſerious, it is deriſion. Thirdly, an evidence of our ſubjection: If there be no cleare demonſtration, either by proſtration, or genuflection, or inclination, or other expreſſion, the worſhip is not complete.

We may be in the Temple, and our minds farre off; if there, they muſt ſhew, or cannot be knowne there. For how may we glorifie God for his good ſervice, who will not let it appeare before men? The Wiſemen, πεσόντες προσεκύνησαν, falling down did worſhip Chriſt. And was it not the manner of old? when they came into the Sanctuary, it was. *O come let us worſhip, and bow, and kneele before the Lord our Maker*, *Pſal.* 95. 6. And when they went out too. For *Hezekiah* and all his company having made an end of offering, bowed themſelves, and worſhipped, 2 *Chron.* 29. 29. There is adoration, inclination, ingeniculation; no full worſhip without viſible humiliation.

Matth. 2. 11.

The argument is pitifull: Hypocrites draw neare with their lips, therefore true Chriſtians may not uſe theirs in the ſervice of God. Doe the Papiſts *bow* the *Knee?* ſuppoſe they doe ſuperſtitiouſly, and idolatrouſly, are we therefore, *ad libitum*, free to doe what we liſt? For their abuſe ſhall we ſtand as if we had no joynts

joynts in ours knees, or use our joynts either for our owne ease, or an exprobration of his service? Now we are at a loose, what prodigious worship doe some beginne to forme? But take they heed, lest leaving all reverence before God in his Assembly, God leave not them and their Assemblies. We know the disobedient are threatned to be smitten in the knees, and in the legges with a sore botch, that cannot be healed, *Deut.* 8.35.

But is it disobedience not to bow the Knee at the Name of Jesus? Yes, for God that will not have it bow to *Baal*, 2 *King.* 19. 18. hath sworne by himselfe it shall bow to him, *Isa.* 45. 23. Nor may the common plea of old Testament hold, for it is applied unto Christ in the New, as meant to be fulfilled in and to him, *Rom.* 14.11. Nor may it be shifted off unto the generall day, no more then our confession. For if the time of grace be for the confession of the tongue, the acknowledgement of the Knee should be in the time of grace also. More of this at ἐπιγείων, as more proper there.

Isidore saith there is affinity betweene the Knees and the Eyes. Because men, *dum ad genua se prosternunt, statim lacrymantur*, when they are on, or doe bend themselves toward their Knees, be apteſt to weepe. If teares be so acceptable to God, that he, as the Psalmist desireth, will bottle them up, can the posture be displeasing, which helps them forward? I doe not make this the Apostles argument, but this sheweth that bowing being of outward gestures the humblest, is also the heartiest. For it is a quick sense at the heart, that causeth teares to distill at the eyes. An outward, humble, and hearty motion, that is required. *Isid. Etym. l.* 11. *c.* 1. *Psal.*

Holy Kings have performed it in the worship of God, as *David*, *Psal.* 95. 6. *Solomon*, 1 *King.* 8. 54. *Ezechias*, 2 *Chron.* 29. 30. So did the Prophets, as *Daniel*, *Dan.* 6. 10. *Esras*, *Esr.* 9.5. *Micah*, *Mic.* 6. 6. The Wisemen did so, *Matth.* 2. 11. To us our Saviour is the president, *Luke* 22. 41. and the Apostles ever kept it in practise, as S. *Stephen*, *Acts* 7.60. S. *Peter*, *Acts* 9.4. S. *Paul*, *Ephes.* 3. 14. So did the whole Church, *Acts* 20. 36. & 21. 5.

But that was in prayer; True, then we bow lowest, when we name Jesus unto God. But is the act lawfull then, and may it not be lawfull, when God in his word, or by his Ministers names Jesus unto us? Is not prayer an humble acknowledgement of our unworthinesse, and Gods superiority? Is bowing at the

Name of Jesus any lesse, or any more? Yea no man sues unto God, and not in, or at his Name. If we be not prepared to carry it before us, our petitions will be preferred in vaine. For God heares us not except we come in that Name, nor can we see how to honour him, but through it. In, or at, or through it, as was before expressed, we may.

Bow the Knee the devout will at prayer, and at the Sacrament of the Lords body, and bloud. It is well, and wished that all would: examples I know, are store in the old and new Testament for the one, but none for the other. Nor can any produce a more evident precept for either, then this, *that at the Name of Jesus every Knee should bow.* For we beginning prayer in his Name, conclude with it: and the Sacrament of the Lords Supper is the most lively expression of Jesus to our soules. So is the one, and the other so. Why then is not the naming, or mentioning of Jesus sufficient reason of *geniculation*? The person signified to us, and by us minded is the same, and we are sure the text is plaine for this whilst we inferre the other.

Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 5. c. 5.

Tertul. adv. Marc. de Mar. antithes. l. 4 c. 2. Orig. ad Rom. c. 14. & in loc. citat. Cypr. de bon. pat. Novati. de Trinit. c. 17. Euseb. Damp. Eccles. Hist. l. 5. c. 5. Athan. ad Adelph. cont. Arrian. orat. 5. & ad Epic. Egypt. & Liby. orat. 2. Concil. Nicæ. Can. 20 & ut supra. Concil. Basil. sess. 21.

That in the Primitive times this bowing was in use *Eusebius* tels, where he recordeth a Legion of Christians on their bare Knees unto Jesus at the fight of *Marcus Aurelius* against the *Germans* and *Sarmatians* about the yeare of our Lord 178. *Tertullian* saith that at *Philip.* 2. 10. *genu plane fatetur*, the Knee doth openly confesse, *se curvando*, by bowing it selfe. *Flectere genu*, to bow the Knee declares, not a carnall subjection onely, but a spirituall obedience also to the worship of God; so *Origen*, and in the forecited places he takes it literally. So doth Saint *Cyprian*, and *Novatianus* so. It was the accustomed manner in *Eusebius* time; *Athanasius* speakes for the time past and to come, *Omne genu flectebatur, & in posterum flectetur*, every Knee did, doth, and shall bow. Saint *Ambrose* meant it corporally, *Ruffinus* likewise, and Saint *Hierome*, Saint *Chrysostome*, Saint *Augustine*, and Saint *Bernard*, in the former quotations. The Councell of *Nice* mentions genuflections in use; The Fathers at the Councell of *Ephesus* read this verse, κὰμψῃ πᾶν γόνυ, and give all adoration outward, and inward unto Jesus. At the Councell of *Basil* it was in practise still. *Alphonsus Abulensis, Osiander, Gorran, Musculus, Calvin, Zanchius, Aretius, Polanus, &c.* conclude the literall sense, and like that this duty should be thus payed. The Church of *England* ever since the

first

first reformation observed it thus in the speciall time of Divine Service. For at the generall confession of our sinnes acknowledging Jesus to be Lord we kneele. When the Apostles Creed is rehearsed we bow the knee, head and all. When the second Lesson is read, if we sit, yet we bow at the Name, and at the Gospel we bow standing. Sitting or standing when the word is read, or preached, we bow at the Name of Jesus.

This precept then is now observed, but the full observance is not extant now, nor ever will be in this world. For God raigneth now by the Gospel, and his Majesty is no otherwise honoured right, then whiles the same, being knowne by his word, is reverenced, saith Master *Calvin.* *Calv. in Rom. 14. v. 11.*

Grace doth owe her knees, and her knees are not in, but governed by the heart. With heart and knee, bowing at the Name, we both testifie that he is Lord, who died to save sinners, and retribute glory for the inestimable benefit. For the meaning of the Holy Ghost is simply to affirme, saith he, that all men should not onely acknowledge Christs power with the heart, but by externall gesture of the body, which he noteth by the bowing of the knee, shew forth the yeelding of obedience also. But the word of God hath alwayes enemies, that frowardly resist, and contemners, that prophanely scoffe at it, as trifling, or fabulous. At this day are many such, God amend them, and give his children patience till all things be renewed. Such there are, and ever will be scorners. Whereby it appeareth that this bowing is indeed begun in this life, not perfected. When all the enemies of Christ shall be thrown downe, that they may be the footstoole of his feete, then at the Name of Jesus shall every knee bow, *ad plenum,* of those in Heaven, in earth, and under the earth. *Ibid.* *Aret. in loc.*

The *Patricians* that deny the substance of humane flesh to be of God; the *Paternians*, that give the inferiour parts of mans body as peculiar to the service of the Devill; the nefarious *Postellus* of *Sorbon*, that said his Harlot and not Christ, redeemed us from the navill downeward; all Hereticks also, that worship in spirit, not in truth; all Hypocrites that worship neither in spirit, nor in truth, but in shew; and all luke-warme Christians who have some affection, yet because many will breake, leaving the Church, and God too, rather then bend, doe keepe the knee for their own use, or bring it into Gods service, as if they were ashamed it should

be knowne there, are condemned at πᾶν γόνυ. For the whole of man according to every part is Gods, and the outward worship proceeding from the inward, the knee at times to expresse the obedience of the heart, doth he challenge of every one. All Neuters, or indifferent soules, *Halcesaits* I may call them, that hold it equall to bow, or not to bow; all Jewes, Turks, and Pagans, that yeeld no obedience unto Jesus; all *Agnoëtes*, *Ethicoproscopts*, *Puritans*, *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, or other perturbers of the Church peace, that will not outwardly bow, are condemned at κάμψῃ. For there God, who will have all glorified bodies bow at the last day, commands regenerate knees to bow in the time of grace. This and all we maintaine from διὸ καὶ, and still the argument is the union, and our salvation.

True Christians we are disciplined by God, as well in the state of our body, as in the habit of our minde. Both being his creatures, it is most just they should according to his will be ordered both. He hath not circumscribed the one, and left the other boundlesse. Our body must pay its due, and the soule hers, and not the body without the soule, that both may be spirituall. We joyne them together; and worship not without bodies, but in a singular adoration, and on speciall restraint. Were we forced to be present at idolatry, we may subject to God in minde, but not bow downe to *Baal*. Submitting then in heart to God, and not in body to any other, we give all to whom the whole is due. God will have no sharer; in all places, at all times, upon all occasions the knee must be the Lords, and his onely. No man hath licence to restraine it, when it may be yeelded, not they whom none controll, save God. Kings as well as the meanest of the people come under every knee, and are called unto obedience before the Lord. Whilst they be foremost, the people will be forward. If the heart be right, of what degree soever we be, our necks are not perverse, nor our knees stubborne; well composed our bodies, to shew our soules are sanctified: we goe not our owne wayes, nor keepe our owne times; what, and as God hath prescribed we are ready to execute without scruple. It is kindly not to render other service then he hath set forth, but it were sacriledge to barre him any of that. Be it how he wils; whilest his Name is hallowed by us, our consciences finde peace in him. At the Name then, and to the person, without shame, or flattery, or pusilla-

puſillanimity, bend we heart and knee. Becauſe the Name is ſupereminent, and by God made the higheſt; *that at the Name of Jeſus every knee ſhould bow* of thoſe things in Heaven, and in earth, and under the earth.

Theſe are the three rankes of knees, and follow next to be diſcovered.

Tract. VI.

Ἐπουρανίων, &c.

Of things in Heaven, and of things in earth, and of things under the earth.

EVery *Knee ſhould bow, quod in Cœlo, in terra, & ſubter terram eſt*, which is in Heaven, in earth, and under the earth, is the Syriack interpretation, and the full expreſſion of the Greeke. Every knee of the celeſtials, terreſtrials, and infernals, as the Vulgar, *Arias Montanus*, *Eraſmus*, *Beza*, the *Rhemiſt*, *&c.* Whether then it be every Knee, which is above, below, and beneath; or of thoſe things which are there, all is one. Whereſoever the Knees are, humility ought to be their glory, end bowing the enſigne.

I bring not bruits, plants, vegetables, and all creatures to this our reaſonable adoration. Who know Chriſt, or have *facultatem cognoſcendi*, the faculty thereto, Angels and men, juſt and unjuſt: all, that ſhall accompt before the tribunall of Chriſt, are bound to this homage at the Name of Jeſus. Theſe and no other, for no other but theſe are capable of ſuch knowledge. Though all creatures ſhall ſubject, yet not all in one manner of ſubjection. *Scio quidem omnem creaturam velit nolit ſubjectam eſſe Creatori*, I know indeed, that every creature muſt be ſubject to the Creatour, ſaith Saint *Bernard*; but of the reaſonable creature, *voluntaria ſubjectio quæritur*, whatſoever be paied, voluntary ſubjection is demanded. Who pay it not willingly, unwillingly ſhall. According then to the diſpoſitions of the ſubjects the ſubjection here is twofold. Of the elect the one; of the reprobate the other. The firſt being that whereby the Apoſtles and all Saints are ſubject unto Chriſt, *ſalutem, quæ à Chriſto eſt, indicat ſubjectorum*, declares the ſalvation by Chriſt of the ſubjects, ſaith *Origen*. I will reſt in, and be ſub-

Bern de ſubject. noſtræ volunt.

Orig. de princip. l. 1. c. 6.

ject unto God: Why? Because, *ab ipso salus mea*, from him is my salvation, was the free resolution of King *David*, *Psal.* 62. 2. The other of the damned is coacted; For they are *victi*, non *ad pœnit.*, the conquered, not adopted they. Their place therefore is not, *locus gratiæ*, of grace; the *locus pœnæ*, the place of torment's theirs. So Saint *Augustine*. Being vessels of Gods wrath, they are made the foottoole of his ire. So the Psalmist, *Psal.* 110. 1.

August. in Psal. 109.

Though all then be not subject in the first way of obedience unto glory, yet all ought to be, and who will not, shall at last be compelled in the other to destruction. For the same saving power is confounding also. The enabled therfore either for eternall life, or death eternall, are the intended subjects at *Isa.* 45. 23. *Rom.* 14. 11. and *Phil.* 2. 10. The Fathers understand it so. In the three sorts mentioned, *omnis universitas indicatur*, the whole universe of Angels and men is set forth, as *Origen* explaines; *Cyprian* so restrains it, so doth *Athanasius*, *Ambrosius*, *Hieronymus*, and Saint *Chrysostome* saith, that the things in Heaven, in earth, and under the earth, are ὁ κόσμος πᾶς, ἢ ἄγγελοι, ἢ ἄνθρωποι, ἢ δαίμονες, the whole world, Angels, Men, and Devils. Not one Ancient and Moderne writer secludes either of these. If any include more, it is more then they can prove the Apostle minded at this place. True, all things are under the commanding will, but none save these can come within the practise of this precept. Nor compassing all these doe I carry all unto one end answerable to their first originall. For in horrour many, whilest the rest, in grace, and glory, pay this duty.

Orig. de princ. l. 1. c. 6. Cypr. de dom. patient. Atha. cont. Ar. or. 2. Ambros. in loc. & Exam. l. 6. c. 9. Chrys. in loc.

To prosecute our intent, it is first demanded here, whether by ἐπουρανίων, heavenly things, be meant the good Angels only.

Ἐπουρανίων.

Theodoret understands all creatures, and principalities, *quæ sub aspectum non cadunt*, which come not within the reach of our eyes, Angels and Spirits, good and bad. This *Zanchius* liketh, though *Beza* would not determine it. For τὰ ἐπουράνια, concludes the airy also, and who take it thus may minde the Devils there. Because *Ephes.* 6. 12. they are said to be, ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, in Heavenly places; that is, Princes of the aire, *Ephes.* 2. 2.

Saint *Chrysostome* intends, τοὺς δικαίους, the just; they are, τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὄντα, the things which are in Heaven, and Heaven is prepared for the just only. Good Angels, and blessed soules departed fall downe of themselves before him that sitteth on the Throne,

Throne, and adore him that liveth for ever and ever, *Rev.* 4. 10. This we are ſure of; with the learned therefore and judicious at home and abroad follow we *Chryſoſtome.*

Secondly, how can the Angels bow at the Name when they are called Spirits? *Pſal.* 104. 4. *Heb.* 1. 7. Hath a Spirit a body that it ſhould bow the knee?

To this I anſwer, that the *Ariſtotelians* hold the Angels ſimple, and abſtracted intelligences, and the *Platoniks* ſay they have bodies. Thoſe the Schoolemen follow, after theſe the Fathers go, though not after theſe in the matter. *Tertullian* ſaith, *Omne quod eſt, corpus eſt ſui generis*, whatſoever is, is a body of its kind. And of the Angels he writes thus, *Inviſibilia illa, quæcunque ſunt, habent apud Deum & ſuum corpus, & ſuam formam, per quæ ſoli Deo viſibilia ſunt*; thoſe viſibles, whatſoever they are, have before God their owne body, and their owne forme, by which they are viſible to God alone. They have their bodies, that is, other then we have, and their formes, as we alſo have ours. It is onely peculiar to God the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoſt, if we may beleeve *Origen, ſine materiali ſubſtantia, & abſque ulla corporeæ adjectionis ſocietate ſubſiſtere*, to ſubſiſt without materiall ſubſtance, and any alliance of corporall adjection. Saint *Auguſtine* doth not onely attribute bodies to the Angels, but cals them, *aerea animalia*, airy animals. He followed *Origen*, *Lactantius*, *Baſil*, and that was the conſent of Writers in his time, as *Ludovicus Vives* noteth. And in his Notes he induceth *Michael Pſellus* ſaying, *Oportet, ut divinus aſſerit Paulus, Spiritus miniſtros, qui mittuntur, corpus habere*, &c. Spirits, miniſters, as Saint *Paul* affirmes, ought to have a body, wherein they may move, ſtand ſtill, and openly appeare. In this ſenſe *Gregory* the Great termes an Angel, *rationale animal*, a reaſonable living creature, ſuch a one as is compoſed of body and ſoule. Saint *Bernard* alſo on the words of the Apoſtle, *Heb.* 1. 14. *Are they not all miniſtring ſpirits?* reaſoneth thus; How can they fulfill their miniſtry without a body, *præſertim apud viventes in corpore?* eſpecially with thoſe which live in a body.

Tertul. lib. de carn. Chr. c. 11. *Ad Praxe. c.* 7.

Orig. περὶ ἀρχῶν l. 3. *c.* 6.

Aug. de Trin. l. 3 *c.* 1. *& de Gene. ad liter. l.* 3. *c.* 10

Ludov. Viv. in Auguſt. de civit. Dei l. 15. *c.* 22.

Greg. in Evang. Homil 10.

Bern. ſup. Cant. ſer. 5.

If in Scriptures we read they are incorporeall; I anſwer, that we uſually call the more groſſe, bodies; and the more ſubtile, which come not under our ſenſe, Spirits. With Saint *Gregory* therefore I determine, *Comparatione noſtrorum corporum ſpiritus ſunt, ſed comparatione ſummi Spiritus, ſunt corpora*, that in reſpect of our bodies

Greg. Moral. in Iob l. 2. *c.* 2.

bodies they are Spirits; but in reſpect of the incircumſcribed Spirit, they are bodies. Conferred with us, ſpirituall; with God, corporeall, as *Damaſcene*. More probable therefore ſaith *Zanchius*, is the opinion of the Fathers, that the Angels be not ſimply without body, then of the Schoolemen, that they are ſimple and immateriall Spirits; eſpecially ſeeing the Schoolemen approve the diſtinction of *Gregory*, that comparatively they are bodies, and Spirits comparatively.

Damaſc. Orthod. Fid. l. 2. c. 3. Zanch. de oper. Dei l. 2. c. 3.

But what bodies they naturally have, we are men and know not; certainely more excellent then ours, more ſubtile then the Heavens, inviſible to our blind eyes, finite, locall, and the fitteſt for their miniſtry.

May we ſay the Angels have their bodies, and can we not think they have their knees? Saint *Paul* at 1 *Cor.* 13. 1. gives them tongues, and ſhall he not as well at *Phil.* 2. 10. allow them knees? They have one ſaid the learned Biſhop *Andrewes*, as much as the other. And in both places, *humanum dicit*, he ſpeakes to us after the manner of men: that we by our owne language might conceive what they doe. They doe reverence, and we finde in the Scriptures that they have expreſſions of what they doe. Conſider what is at *Rev.* 4. 10. & 5. 8. 14. and in the 7. chapter 11, 12. verſes, nothing can be more plaine. All the Angels ſtood in the compaſſe of the Throne, and of the Elders, and of the foure beaſts, and fell before the Throne on their faces, and worſhipped God; ſaying Amen; *Bleſſing, and glory, and wiſdome, and thankes, and honour, and power, and might be unto our God for ever more, Amen.* They ſtand, and have they no legges? they fall downe, and may they not bow? Having faces, muſt they want knees? ſpeaking out, are they without tongues? They have theirs, we ours. Though not as carnally we, they hold τὰ ἀνάλογα, with us, whereby their obedience is ſet forth. And it is confeſſed by all, that genuflection is but an outward, and ſome ſay any outward, humble expreſſion of that within. Becauſe therefore the Angels ſome way expreſſe it, they are ſome way ſaid to bow, and that way too, which is anſwerable to the knee. Their obedientiall bowing power they yeeld in a ſupermorall perfection. The doe ſo, and going before in that practiſe we need not feare to follow after. What ever ſome plead for themſelves, I am ſure the Apoſtle hath left none of us out. For to every knee of heavenly things he ſubjoynes every knee of things terreſtriall.

Καὶ ἐπιγείων.

And of things in Earth.

The conjunction, καὶ, *and*, shewes that all living men ought to performe the bowing at the Name, verified in the Angels. All ought, and though all doe not, yet good Christians beginne it now, and will goe on with it unto perfection. For they in Heaven bowing strongly inferre that there are no men in Earth priviledged not to bow. I say not that every individuall man, ὁ ἐπὶ γῆς ὤν, which is on earth, doth or will now bow. For Turkes, Jewes, Infidels, out of the Church doe not, and too many Christians in the Church will not. But that every one voluntarily, or involuntarily shall truly fulfill this Scripture at the last day. Though therefore it be principally intended then, it doth not follow that it may not be in practise now. For the Apostle will have us be presently humble, *vers.* 5. And presently, because our humility, that reacheth, goes not out, but is perfected in glory. *Origen* saith, *omne genu flectitur*, every knee doth bow; *Flectebatur & flectetur*, every knee did bow, and every knee shall bow, so *Athanasius*. *Jam incurvetur*, every knee ought now to bow; so *Cyrillus Alexandrinus*. Now to doe it, and every one now, will admit of no prorogation till the last day. *Christi regnum crescit indies*, Christs Kingdom hath a daily increase, and is not at highest untill it be wholly triumphant. So these propositions are both true. All things are now subjected unto Christ: All things are not in full subjection untill the Resurrection. *Proinde vaticinium hoc non absque ratione diversis temporibus varie accommodatur*, saith Master *Calvin*, this prophesie therefore is not without reason diversly fitted to divers times, as other prophesies doe not perfect Christs Kingdome in a moment, but describe it unto us in the whole circuit. And though it be a prophesie, yet under this prophesie is a duty required of us. For it is not a prophesie instantly fulfilled, but by degrees.

Καὶ.

Ἐπιγείων.

Orig. in Isa. c. 1. hom. 1.
Athan. ad Adel. cont. Arria. or. 5.
Cyril. Alexand. ad piiss. Reg. orat. 1. in annot. ex Philip.
Calv. in loc.

A good Christian then will argue thus; Must all knees bow at the Name of Jesus in the last day? I ought therefore to bow now. *Pia civilitas est*, it is a pious civility so to doe in the time of grace, saith *Osiander*. *Non interiore modo cordis affectu, sed externa quoque professione colendus est Deus, si velimus illi reddere quod suum est*; God is to be worshipped not in the interiour affection of the heart,

Osiand. in loc.
Marl. in loc.

but by externall profession also if we will render him what is his, saith *Maldonat.* The better sort therefore get them to their knees gladly, saith the reverend Bishop. They doe so, or else how can they pray, *Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven? Matth.* 6. 10. If it be so done in Heaven, it should be done so on earth, or else our Lords Prayer must be, as it is among the Puritans, out of use with us.

Nor doe wee this as if God had need of our bowing: but wee would be thankfull, and we, of us I speake, we have need to bow. For by bowing, prostration, extending the hands, *Et siquid aliud visibiliter*, or if we doe any other visible thing, by these wee become the more humble and fervent at our devotions. *Nescio quomodo, cum hi motus corporis fieri, nisi motu animi præcedente, non possunt, iisdem rursus externis visibiliter factis, ille interior invisibilis, qui eos fecit, augetur, &c.* I know not how, saith Saint *Augustine*, but so it is, that whereas these motions of the body cannot be done, save by a preceding motion of the minde, yet by these visibly externall deeds, that interiour and invisible, which caused them, is enlarged. As if there were reaction betweene the inward and the outward; the inward affection, which moveth the knee to bow, is by the bowing of the knee the more inflamed. Who therefore dislike the posture, we have just cause to doubt their intentions. For though God judge the outward by the inward, yet we discerne not the inward, but by the outward.

Augustin. de cura pro mort. geren. c. 5.

Nor let any thinke to be excused, because multitudes doe it not. For if that be sufficient plea, it is in vaine to plead any longer for the truth. But the truth will stand against all opposition, and the pleaders shall be upheld by him for whose sake they plead the truth. By whom was it said, *Mar.* 13. 13. *Luke* 21. 14. *Yee shall be hated of all men, διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου, for my Name sake?* What? Were they hated of all men? No, but of the prevailing number. And doth not Christ there say, persevere, and yee shall be saved, not a haire of your head shall perish, by patience yee shall possesse your soules? These things were written for us, and God be thanked, they are enough, and so let his Grace ever make them to us. Can we recall those myriades of Martyrs that have died in severall persecutions for the Name of Jesus, and shall we be ashamed who live in peace, eate the fruits of our owne labours, and enjoy the free passage of the Gospel, shall we, we be ashamed in all humility

mility to extoll the Name? The Name, which in life and death is the sweetest tune, and most melodious harmony, the Name of all Names, even the Name of Jesus.

Let the stoutest opposers produce one of the Fathers that misliкes our bowing at the Name. I except none, no not the most allegoricall. For *Origen*, of whom they most boast, saies as much as we desire, and more then many would willingly heare. Let this be done, and by my consent, they shall gaine their will against our practise. All the late Writers, that I have seene, except the knowne perturbers of the Church peace, wish us by sensible demonstration to declare our inward humility all. *Orig. in loc. citato.*

But if we looke backe unto the 22. *Psal.* 28.29,30, 31. it will appeare what scope this duty hath among Christians on earth. All ends of the earth shall remember, and turn unto the Lord; and all the families of the Heathen shall bow down themselves before thee. That is, *Divinis honoribus Dominum Jesum Christum colent Christiani*, the Christians shall worship the Lord Jesus Christ with divine honours, saith *Osiander*. And reason good: For to the Lord pertaines the Kingdome, and he is ruler among the Nations. All the fat ones of the earth shall eate and bow downe themselves: that is, the mighty of the earth, Kings, Queenes, Princes, Nobles, shall acknowledge, and adore Jesus. All that goe downe into the dust shall bend downe before him; that is, the poore, wretched, contemned people, that are even trod in the dust, shall shew themselves devout in the service of Jesus. All sorts of Christians are set out by bowing downe. As if the outward man were made to interpret the inward; or visible expressions should tell forth our sincere affection unto Jesus. Who will not indeavour to discharge what here they owe unto Christ, will they, nill they, they shall pay this duty in the utmost rigour. Not for a time, but eternally, nor any other way, then with the Devill, and by everlasting torments. No avoyding it who contemne the other; For every knee comprehends the infernall also. *Osiand. in Psal.* 22.

Καὶ καταχθονίων.

And of things under the earth.

God hath made Jesus King of Heaven, and of Earth, καὶ, *and*, Καὶ. and him over Hell the most triumphant. Whom the two former chearefully obey, to his glorious person, the conjunctive partícle,

cle, καὶ, *and*, brings the third ranke of bowers, bound hand and foote, crouching in their fetters. And the same connexive infers that these are reasonable creatures too. It doth, and all expositers agree in that, but which they are, not so well. *Theodoret*, understanding the good and evill Angels in the first place, placeth here the dead men, elect and reprobate, which lie in their graves. Who assent to the former may like this. But if the words before be throughly inspected, the bodies of the dead are included there. For, till the generall day, they are more properly in, then beneath, the earth, and more in then any other. There they are laid up, and shall not be carried either over, or under, before the universall account be taken. There till then and no where else they.

Chrys. in loc. Καταχθονίων. In the next word therefore we with Saint *Chrysostome* comprehend the Devils and damned soules. For them *Tophet* is prepared, and that, κατὰ τὰ χθονὸς, below the earth. The aire indeed, and the earth are places of the Devils seeing and assaulting us, but Hell is their home, said the learned Bishop *Bilson*. Thither they be remanded, upon any, the least occasion, when pleaseth God. Their place, from whence at the last they shall never start, is, ὁ ἄβυσσος, the bottomlesse pit, *Luke* 8.31. ὁ ἅδης, the most inconspicuous to the face of the earth, *Luke* 16.23. ὁ τάρταρος, the lowest, and beneath our thought of lowneſse, 2 *Pet.* 2.4. No light, and no darkneſse there without intolerable horrour. Where it is we know not, and I pray God it may never know any of us wheresoever it be. For whom it is we know, and being we doe, it behoves us to doe here as he wils, whose power constraines the damned there.

D. Bilson. Survey pag 633

We dreame not then of a Purgatory, and soules to be released thence. They are stated in Hell that are the subterraneall, and being trampled under Christs feete shall never rise up into his glory. It is a meere delusion of the Devill, that the Papists at this text teach redemption from the infernall parts. For the Apostle discovers in what subjection the Devils and condemned men shall, full sore against their wils, be unto our Saviour. *Novatianus*, *Ruffin*, *Ambrose*, *Chrysostome*, *Theopylact*, *Anselme*, *Haymo*, *Hugo*, *Cajetan*, *Tho. Aquinas*, *Gorran*, *Illiricus*, *Hunnius*, *Hyperius*, *Salmeron*, *Zanchius*, *Aretius*, *Estius*, on this text expound the bowing of those things in Hell to be not in charity, but forced by

Novat. de Trin. c.15. & 17. Ruffin. in expos. Symb. Apost.

by the uncontrolled power of Jesus.

It is plaine, *Psal.* 110. 1. where his enemies are הדם, ὑποπόδιον, the footstoole of his feete. God hath subjected them, תחת, under, 1 *Cor.* 15. 27. and ὑποκάτω, under and under his feete, *Heb.* 2. 8. So under as they shall never be able to rise. Under him now; for now *illum metuere coguntur*, they are compelled to feare him; and under this feare, *contremiscunt ad illius memoriam*, they tremble at the mentioning and memory of Jesus, saith *Aretius*. Now under feare of that to come, but when that is come, which they so feare, bow they must, and be bound in everlasting chaines of torments so to bow. The very recognition of Jesus, whose Name the blessed glory to record one to another, being perpetuall to the damned, shall be as bellowes to blow the fire, whilest they are fuell to maintaine it. They despaire to forget him, because his revengefull power will never leave them. Fly from him they cannot, nor are they able to endure, what they must for ever and ever abide under him. Thus having no where else to be, nor any meanes not at all to be, nor any hope that he will in time be satisfied, they yeeld, because they cannot but yeeld; and suffer, because they ever shall suffer the rigour of his justice. In this thraldome they dreading advance his Name, whose person was despited, and applaud his justice, whose mercie they refused. That justice keepes them on their everlasting knees, whilest their Lord cannot be, and not be victorious.

Aret. in loc.

All therefore shall bow, but how bow all at the Name? Shall Jesus be named at the generall day? or ever after?

Who question this may doubt all. All that Christ did, and suffered all. For what gaine I by him crucified, if he be not glorified for me? I acknowledge him humbled, much more exalted him, and my selfe through him. Beleeve and search the Scriptures. They say the Lord shall be revealed, and shall he be revealed without the memoriall of his Name? Not so. The day of the Lord is the revelation of the Lord Jesus, 2 *Thes.* 1. 7. And at the 12. *v.* all that is then done, the clarification of the good, and confusion of the bad, all, that is, is that the Name of our Lord Jesus may be glorified in us, and we in him.

Againe, 2 *Cor.* 1. 14. The generall day is the day of the Lord Jesus. Shall he have a day, and not he be mentioned in the day? How hath he it, when it is not acknowledged his? But his it is,

and

and will be acknowledged. For in that day God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to the Gospel, *Rom.* 2. 16.

Thirdly, when we consider, *Isa.* 25. 21. *Rom.* 14. 11. *Phil.* 2. 11. that every tongue at the generall day shall to the full confesse that Jesus Christ is Lord, what may we say of those men that thus contradict this truth? If they be Schollers, can they be thus ignorant? If Divines, be they not infatuated? and if both, are they not in contempt? I feare they have projected so many wayes of serving God, that if his mercie prevent not, the best will be forsaken, or troubled very much.

But grant that the Name shall be mentioned then, shall it never be expressed after then?

Yes, for by what Name he was vilified on earth, in the same Name will he be magnified in Heaven. All the servants of God shall there see his face, and his Name in their foreheads, *Rev.* 22. 4. What is the Name there? The Lamb of God is not it, but it is Jesus. For he is the eternall Sacrifice signified by the Lamb. And because our comfort shall be alwayes full, the Name, for which we suffer on earth, shall ever be present with us in Heaven. We shall heare it alwayes, see it alwayes, glory in it alwayes, it will be alwayes in our foreheads. Nay how can we be perfect in him, if his Name shall not be glorified in us? 2 *Thes.* 1. 12. Or how may his glory be perfect in us, if his titles of greatest glory be withdrawne from us? Is there any other Name wherein we must be saved? *Acts* 4. 12. we are saved onely in it; if saved, then glorified in it onely. For without glory is no salvation. Possesse we so much in it, and shall it be without regard, when we have all we can possesse? The foure and twenty Elders, and the thousands of thousands sing the prayses of his Name, *Rev.* 5. 12. and *Rev.* 19. the voyce of much people, as the voyce of many waters, and as the voyce of strong thundrings, is *Allelu-jah*; because the marriage of the Lamb is come, *vers.* 1. 3, 4, 6, 7. We shall for ever sup with him, and magnifie his Name for ever. *Ipse finis erit desideriorum nostrorum, qui sine fine videbitur, sine fastidio amabitur, sine fatigatione laudabitur*, he will be the end of of our desires, who shall be seene without end, loved without disdaine, and praised without ceasing, saith Saint *Augustine*. This is the office, this the affect, this the act for all, and all they

August. de civit. Dei l. 22. c. 30.

they doe is done in the Name of Jesus. *Gloria nostra est, quod cum potestates eum semper adoraverint, nunc adorent sub Nomine Jesu*, it is our glory, that whereas the Angels ever adored the Sonne of God, now they adore him under the Name of Jesus, saith *Athanasius*. *Beda* inferres that as Christ received at his corporall circumcision this Name Jesus, so the Elect in their spirituall circumcision partake of the Name; *ut sicut ipsi à Christo dicti sunt Christiani, ita à Salvatore vocantur salvati*, that as they of Christ are denominated Christians, so of the Saviour they are called the saved: *Ludolphus Saxo* thereupon affirmes that in glory, *ab ipso Jesu dicemur Jesuitæ*. His meaning is, that Jesus will be unto us the Name of glory, as Christ is of grace. *Oleum effusum Nomen tuum: effusum plane, quod non solum Cælos, terrasque perfudit, sed aspersit & inferos*, as Saint *Bernard* preached; the Name is Oyle poured forth, and fully poured forth, which runnes not all over the Heavens onely, but comes at Hell also: So that at the Name of Jesus every knee celestiall, terrestriall, and infernall must bow, and every tongue confesse and say his Name is Oyle poured forth. *Ecce Christus, Ecce Jesus*, behold Christ, behold Jesus, both poured out to the Angels, both poured forth on men. Shall it be poured forth to them, and not be received? or how can they receive, and not take notice of it? It was the hope of all the Fathers, and the joy of the Martyrs in the Church, that they should magnifie this Name in Heaven, which they professed on earth. And if we examine the moderne writers, no Divines will be found, that deny the fulfilling of *Phil.* 2. 10. in the life to come. Yea they who not onely neglect, but decry also the duty here, confesse the full payment hereafter. What discording musicke is theirs? Hereafter it shall be perfectly performed, and yet the Name never named hereafter. When their doctrine is knowne to be at oddes, they will stand amazed, and keepe the distance of those men that frighten each other.

Athanas. cont. Arrian.

Beda in Luc. 2.

Lud. Ipb. Saxo. de vita Christ. part. 1. c. 10. de circumcis. Domini.

Bern. sup. Cant. ser. 15.

It is time to conclude; who will not beleeve, can never learne their duty, because a duty is never learned till it be practised, nor practised till it be well beleeved. Have some faith, and we shall have more, and the more we have the greater will our practise be. The Name is most glorious in Heaven, therefore the blessed bow at the Name: The Name is most sweete to Christians.

ſtians on earth; therefore good Chriſtians beginne here to bow at the Name. The Name is moſt dreadfull in Hell; therefore the damned bow at the Name: Theſe againſt the will, moſt willingly the other.

The *Simoniani*, *Caimies*, *Angelicies*, &c. that againſt the Scriptures bring in, and maintaine the worſhipping of Angels; the *Collirydians*, *Papiſts*, that adore the Virgin *Mary*, alſo, pray unto Saints, and bow the knee at their Images; the *Ariſtotelians*, and the Fanatiks of our time, that make the Angels ſuch ſimple intelligences as may no way bow the knee, are condemned at ὑπερεφίων. For there the Angels, and Saints receive no divine worſhip, but ſubmiſſively bow downe at the Name. The *Manichees*, that ſay Jeſus is the Redeemer of the ſoule onely, and therefore yeeld not the body unto his honour; the Jewes, Turkes, Pagans, Infidels, that on earth deny his Name; the *Zuinglians*, and our very late Reformiſts, that ſtand covered as ſtiffe as ſtakes, or ſit as ſenſleſſe of Grace, without any expreſſion of honour at the Name of Jeſus, are condemned at ἐπιγείων. For there beleeving Chriſtians, hoping to partake of glory with their Saviour, ſhew their delight in, and high eſteeme of him by bowing at his Name. The *Carpocratians*, *Marcits*, *Severians*, that fall downe before familiar Devils; the *Pythagoreans*, *Origeniſts*, and many prophane Famuliſts in theſe dayes, that teach a revolution of ſoules, as if Hell were but for a time, and in time the Devill and all the wicked with him ſhould remove thence, as the Popelings ſay ſoules doe out of Purgatory, are condemned at καταχθονίων. For there the Devill, his Angels, and all the Damned, chained for ever on their knees, juſtifie the righteouſneſſe of our Saviour in bowing with horrour at the Name of Jeſus. This and all we maintaine from ἀὸ χ, and ſtill the argument is the union, and our ſalvation.

True Chriſtians we beleeve that though the Angels have not knees like ours, yet will bend the knees they have. We thinke them not elementary, ſpirituall they be. Devoid of body in reſpect of us, but if God be conſidered corporeall they. For where now they are, they cannot now be elſewhere; and being miniſters to us muſt have ſuch a being wherein they may adminiſter. In a being they aſſiſt us, which ſometimes they either make

make visible, or assume another visible, and by the same, in an analogy to us, humbly expresse the honour due unto our Saviour. Not coacted, but with alacrity, and such, as if we could behold it, our hottest zeale would seeme stone-cold. They are ndued above us, and can doe much, much more, yet we in a holy emulation praying to doe, as they doe, contend after them. We shift nothing off that ought to be done, because when we have done the most, it is knowne we have done too little here. If the Angels and Spirits, good and bad, properly have no knees, it is certaine we have. Whom it concernes, looke we to our selves. We cannot be too forward, no feare of that, in goodnesse; but our backwardnesse brings evill enough on us. Whilest others then be backward, we will be as forward as we can, that our forwardnesse may prevene Gods anger. We dare not forbeare the knees, and with-hold what else we owe at the Name, lest he take his Name from, and we be not reputed his. To whom he is most precious, most honourable he among sinners. Whilest therefore we have the use of our bodies they shall set forth our obedience. For we finde who will, because they will be in contempt, shall at last be compelled with smiting knees to honour that Name wherein they will then despaire of comfort. We may conceive the Devils in their kinde, and the other damned in theirs, manacled without hope of release, crouching at the Name of Jesus under the immense and eternal waight of Gods wrath. So it is decreed, and cannot be altered, that who will not now doe, what he should, shall against the will hereafter doe what he would not. Jesus will be honoured in Heaven, and in Hell, we are in the middest to make our choyce: who will have Heaven doth his duty unto Christ voluntarily on earth; who doth not so shall be tormented to it in Hell. *For God hath given him a Name above every Name, that at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in Heaven, and in earth, and under the earth.*

Tract. VII.

Καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσηται, &c.
And that every tongue ſhould confeſſe, &c.

WE are now at the duty, which is generall, of the tongue, πᾶσα γλῶσσα, *every tongue*. Secondly, evident, ἐξομολογήσηται, *it ſhould confeſſe*. Thirdly, veridicall, ὅτι κύριος, *that Jeſus Chriſt is Lord*; And then kindly, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρός, *unto the glory of God the Father.*

Καὶ. Καὶ, *and*, inferres this neceſſary as the former: nay more; Not excluſively more, as if this being done, the other may not at all be done: But neceſſary more, as more excellent the ſubject. And ſo excellent is the tongue, that of all other members the Pſalmiſt cals it, כבוד, *our glory*, *Pſal.* 16. 9. Nor is it ſpoken there of the ſoule; for the Apoſtle expounds it of the tongue, *Acts* 2. 26. The tongue is the vocall inſtrument, wherewith we glorifie God; the other make but dumbe acknowledgements. The knee then, being ſet before the tongue, doth not challenge the more worth, nor the tongue loſe any of its owne. They be marſhalled right, ſaid the reverend Biſhop. For having, by the knee bowed, put our ſelves in minde of due regard, we are the fitter to ſpeake of, and to our Saviour with meete reſpect. In the ſecond Precept this order is commanded; the practiſe frequent in the Old Teſtament: in the New Chriſt himſelfe fell on his face and prayed; the Apoſtles after him, and the Churches too, betooke themſelves unto their knees at their devotions. As if bowing were a proper preparative to the ſervice of God, or a geſture ſo peculiar, that the outward man, nothing elſe, might declare the humble heart. For this cauſe we entring the houſe of prayer, bow our ſelves unto the Father; and, becauſe we muſt ſome way bow, toward the Eaſt obſerve we the cuſtome of the Church.

Exod. 20. 5. Pſal. 95. 6. Matth. 26 38. Acts 20 36.

Secondly, though καὶ, be copulative, it doth not binde the knee and the tongue inſeparably together. As if the knee might not bow, unleſſe the tongue ſpeake out. For theſe are duties under an affirmative precept, and being humane acts are limited by circum-

circumſtances. They are duties neceſſary, *non ad ſemper*, but not at all times, to ſalvation, ſaith *Aquinas*. Their times they have, and keepe both in their place. Both may goe together, and when they may, for Gods ſake let them. And let them in that place, and at that time, where and when the omiſſion of either ſubſtracts Gods honour, and gives ill example to our brethren. When the tongue confeſſeth be ſure to bow at the Name, though when the knee bowes at the Name the tongue doth not ever confeſſe. For this laſt includes the firſt, as the greater the leſſe. The particle ὡς, therefore doth not tie the open confeſſion to the implicit, but rather the implicit as ſubſervient to the open. Yea, it brings, ἵνα, in the former verſe hither, and maketh this another dependent on all we had under διὸ καὶ ὡς, and after in the ninth verſe. In which reſpect our *Engliſh* tranſlatours render, ὡς, not ſimply, *and*, but with the finall, ἵνα, *and that*: Thereby denoting that this duty hath the ſame ground with the former, and the former the ſame end with this. For, ὡς, lookes backward and forward. Backward for the tongue, as ἵνα, did for the knee, unto the exalted Perſon, and the Name exalted by the union and for our ſalvation. Forward to direct the knee and tongue unto the glory of God the Father. As the knee ſhould bow at the Name to the Perſon whoſe Name it is, ſo likewiſe ſhould the tongue confeſſe what one he is, who is ſo named. And both knee and tongue to the honour of God, which exalted him, and his Name, that his Name and he might be ſo acknowledged by us.

Tho. Aquin. 2.2.q.71.ar.5. ad 3. & 22. q.3.ar.2.ad 1.

Before we brought all to humble the knee, and every knee; now all is at the tongue: every ſpirit to give breath, and every tongue to be a Trumpet of his glory, who is ſo illuſtrated.

Γλῶσσα, לשון, that proper inſtrument whereby we ſpeake. We admit no *Metonymie*, a *Synecdoche* we doe. The tongue is not mentall onely, nor onely corporall. The tongue moves from the heart, and the heart ſhould goe with the tongue. Not the tongue extraordinarily indued onely, but, πᾶσα, every tongue, of what ſpeech, dialect, or language ſoever in the world, ſtands charged with this duty, *Dan* 7.14. In token hereof the title on the Croſſe was written in the three principall, or ſacred tongues, as *Iſidore* termes them, Hebrew, Greeke, and Latin. Not that theſe and no other be intended, but theſe being put downe as the excellent,

Γλῶσσα.

Rom.10.10.

Πᾶσα.

Iſid.Etym.l 9. c.1.

cellent, no other, what, where, or whose soever, are left out. Bishop *Andrewes* saith, the tongues sent from Heaven were the *præludium*. For thereby every Nation under Heaven, each in their owne tongue, heard spoken, *Magnalia Dei*, the glad tidings of the Gospel, *Acts* 2. 6. Every Nation then; for every Nation hath a peculiar tongue. And every one that speakes the tongue of his Nation: For, all peoples, since the confusion, being set forth by tongues, every tongue implies every one of all peoples so distinguished.

None may deny the Authour what he made. Not one of the Angels: *Let all the Angels of God worship him*, *Heb.* 1. 6. Not one of the Gods on earth; *Worship him all yee Gods*, *Psal.* 97. 7. Not one of the Saints above; They all say, *Thou O Lord, art worthy to receive glory, and honour, and power*, *Rev.* 4. 10, 11. Not one of the Saints below; The[illegible]l cry out with the Prophet; *Exalt the Lord our God, for the Lord our God is holy*, *Psal.* 99. 5. *Who will not feare thee O Lord, and glorifie thy Name?* *Rev.* 15. 4. Nay, who will not, shall in the end gnaw their tongues, and roare out, *Vicisti Galilæe.* Devils, and all in Hell are forced to yeeld their very tongues unto the divine justice, *Rev.* 16. 10. The tongues then of Angels and men, good and bad, πάντες, as Saint *Chrysostome* expounds πᾶσα γλῶσσα, the good in Heaven, and on earth, and the bad on earth and in Hell are the full of every tongue, at *Isa.* 45. 23. and *Rom.* 14. 11. and *Phil.* 2. 11.

Chrys. in loc.

We have tongues, and the Angels too, as we have our, and they their knees. We know ours, and they theirs. They doe their part, we must doe ours. Accept the *Synecdoche* now, and every man from the soule by his tongue, and every Angel in his power conclude every tongue that should confesse. Their faculty of speaking is required of them, and ours of us. Not of us in one sexe onely, and not in the other, but of us in both. For the Hebrew word at *Isa.* 45. 23. is of the common gender. Women, and every woman come within *every tongue*. Whose tongues be very profuse at other times, may not be over sparing in this. Nor doe we contradict the Apostle, who will have women silent in the Churches; 1 *Cor.* 14. 34. For there he inhibits them the authority of teaching in publike convent. Prophetisses have no liberty; αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστι, because it is a shame for a woman, λαλεῖν, to speak, *vers.* 35. that is, διδάσκειν, to teach in the Church, 1 *Tim.* 2. 12.

For.

For, as Saint *Chryſoſtome* ſaid, ἐδίδαξεν ἅπαξ ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ πάντα κατέστρεψε, the women once taught, and ſhe ſubverted all things. Appoſitely here might I take up the complaint of the ſame Father againſt this fault in his time; Νυνὶ παρ' ἡμῖν πολὺς ὁ θόρυβος, πολλὴ ἡ κραυγὴ, πολλὴ ἡ διάλεξις, &c. Now there is a great tumult, much clamour, debate exceeding, nor are womens tongues any where more liberall, not in the Market, not at the Bathes, then within the Church, of ſpirituall, and ſecular affaires. Διὰ τοῦτο, for this, this very thing, πάντα ἄνω καὶ κάτω γέγονε, all things are topſiturvie. I heartily wiſh, that theſe dayes may no longer in this dangerous evill parallel thoſe. Let women learne to pray and praiſe God with the Congregation, as they ought; but for them to preſcribe, and adminiſter, is to prophane the ſacred things of the Temple. *Chryſ. in 1 Tim. 2. Serm. 9.*

We ſee the tongue is univerſall as the knee; in Heaven none are excepted, on earth none, and none have priviledge in Hell. All that ſhall come to the generall judgement, what ever they be, ſhould confeſſe all.

Ἐξομολογήσηται.
Should confeſſe.

At *Iſa.* 45. 23. it is, תשבע which the *Septuagint* publiſhed by *Sixtus Quintus*, renders ὀμεῖται, and we tranſlate, *ſhall ſweare*. Nor doth this croſſe the Apoſtles words, nay his explain this. For it is granted by all Expoſitours, that, *juramentum*, an oath is *cultus divini ſpecies*, and συνεκδοχικῶς, often put for the whole worſhip of God. As *Iſa.* 19. 18. where ſwearing by the Lord of Hoſts is the true profeſſion of him. So in *Jer.* 4. 2. *Thou ſhalt ſweare the Lord liveth, &c.* Swearing, *pro confeſſione dicitur*, is uſed for confeſſion, ſaid Saint *Hierome*. And in this ſenſe, *Pſal.* 63. 11. to ſweare by him, is from the heart to worſhip him, as *Tremellius* hath obſerved. That therefore, which the Prophet calleth ſwearing, *Iſa.* 45. 23. the Apoſtle calleth confeſſing unto God, *Rom.* 14. 11. And in the Copie Saint *Hierome* had of the Seventy Interpreters, was expreſſed both, *jurabit, & confitebitur*, every tongue ſhall ſweare, and confeſſe. Both tend to one: For as *Beza* noteth, ſwearing is no other, then, *vera & aperta ejus Dei confeſſio, quem ut teſtem & perjurii vindicem appellamus*, a true and open acknowledgement of that God, whom we call as the witneſſe, and avenger *Hieron. in Ier. 4. 2. Item in not. Pſal. 63. 11. Bez. in annot. Rom. 14. 11.*

avenger of periury. A confession, that it is, and with the highest witnesse. Of God, and to God it; of and to him above all. We are right, and to satisfie that we are, see what may be had from the Apostles word, ἐξομολογήσωνται, should confesse. The Latin translatours all signifie no more, then our *English*. Saint *Chrysostome* saith the meaning is, ἵνα πάντες εἴπωσι, that all should speak out. But the reverend Bishop considered three things it it; I will shew foure, and in each one three. First is λόγος, speak we must, say somewhat. Secondly, ὁμοῦ, doe it together, not some speak, and some sit mute. Thirdly, ὐξ, speake out, not whisperingly, or betweene the teeth; but clearely, and audibly. So farre his; the next from the forme of the Verb is this. The duty set out *in futuro*, being an universall truth is required now. To day, whilest it is to day, doe it now; shift it not off to the last day, to be done then. Now and then; the Tence containes both.

Ἐξομολογήσωνται *Chrysost. in loc.*

These foure make all square; looke back, and see how.

1. First, here is speech, and that *Cordis, oris, operis*, of the heart, the mouth, the life; in, and by them speake we.

2. Secondly, an harmony, and that, *consensus, ordinis, & finis*, with one consent, in one order, and to one end: All as one in every one.

3. Thirdly, an open expression, and that, *fidei, spei, & charitatis*, of faith, hope, and charity; All shew gracious lips, though every one yeeld not one and the same measure of grace.

4. Fourthly, a time for the performance; and that, *necessitatis, voluntatis, & coactionis*, of necessity, will, and compulsion. When the honour of God, or the good of our neighbour may be advanced, then because we ought, we will doe it, and who will not then, shall be constrained, when they would not.

Thus, ἐξομολόγησις, or the confession of the Church is sincere without dissimulation; unanimous without distortion; loud without mumbling; and voluntary without coaction. *Omnia offerantur Deo, & sensus, & sermo, & vox*: there may be nothing at any time wanting in the house of God; not gold, nor silver, nor brasse: not faith, nor profession, nor dialects. The sense, the sentence, the language, all must be offered unto God, saith *Origen*. *Si sufficeret fides cordis, non creasset tibi Deus os*, if faith in the heart might suffice, God would not have created the tongue, said *Chrysostome*. And to the tongue Saint *Augustine* ascribes as much as any.

Orig in Exod. 25. *Hom.* 13.

Chrysost. super illud Matth. 10 32.

Non

Non perfectè credunt, qui, quod credunt, loqui nolunt, they beleeve not perfectly, who will not ſpeake out what in heart they beleeve. Becauſe *David* beleeved, he therefore ſpake, *Pſal.* 116. 10. If faith be in the heart, confeſſion will be with the mouth, *Rom.* 10. 10. And if both be right, our deeds are anſwerable: faith is conſummate by worke, *James* 2.22. *Nam multi confitentur verbis, ſed factis negant*, for many in tongue profeſſe, but in life deny Chriſt. Binde theſe together, and our Sacrifice is reaſonable. A Sacrifice living, holy, and acceptable unto God, *Rom.* 12.1,2.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 115.

Aug. in Epiſt. beat. Ioan. Tract. 8.

Iſaiah propheſied of this confeſſion, and Saint *Hierome* ſaith it is fulfilled, *in Chriſti eccleſiis*, in the Churches of Chriſt. Not in the Jewes Synagogues: they containe not all tongues; but in the Chriſtian Churches, theſe doe, *Matthew* 18. 18, 19. It ever was, and ſhall be ever their practiſe. When Chriſt was borne, the Angels confeſſed; whileſt Chriſt was on earth, he himſelfe confeſſed, and taught his Diſciples ſo to doe, witneſſe the foure Evangeliſts. The Apoſtles kept it in uſe their time, witneſſe their Acts, and Epiſtles. The Churches after, witneſſe the Apoſtles Creed, and the συνομολογιαι, or joynt confeſſion of the 318. Biſhops at the Councell of *Nice*, *Anno* 335. Of the 150. at *Conſtantinople*, *Anno* 381. Of the 270. at *Epheſus*, *Anno* 431. Of the 630. at *Chalcedon*, *Anno* 451. No queſtion of it in the Primitive times, and performed with ſuch alacrity, that their *Amen* was like a clap of thunder, ſaith Saint *Hierome*, and their *Hallelujah* as the roaring of the Sea. Through the corrupted times downeward came the Symbole or Confeſſion of the Apoſtles, a ſecond of *Nice* and *Conſtantinople*, a third of Saint *Athanaſius*, and a fourth in the Canticle of Saint *Ambroſe* and Saint *Auguſtine*. And ſtill, doe the Devill and his agents what they can, theſe, God be thanked, remaine with us, and we doe, and and will uſe them ſtill.

Iſa. 45.23. *Hieron. in Iſa.* 45.

What hath ever beene in the Church be it ever. Ever confeſſours militant on earth, that of all times there may in Heaven be confeſſours triumphant ever. It is moſt kindly for Saints to be ſeen in that exerciſe here, wherein the glorious ſhall delight hereafter. Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Hoaſts, *Iſa* 6. 3. And bleſſing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto him that ſitteth on the Throne, and the Lamb for evermore, is the loud

loud cry of the bleſſed, *Rev.* 5. 11, 12, 13. and of them proſtrated, *Rev.* 4. 10. If this be not hearty and humble confeſſion, what is? If it be, why are we ſtiffe, and bend not, tongue-tied, and confeſſe not? Are we aſhamed to doe that below, which all exult in above? or be there but two duties in the text, and will we ſuppreſſe them both? I know not what our reſerved Zelots meane, who either caſt away the Creeds, or be as ſtill at the time of confeſſion, as if they had no tongues, or will not, or cannot give any reaſon of this, or other their croſſe preſumptions. Is not Chriſt the high Prieſt of our profeſſion? *Heb.* 3. 1. and doth not he confeſſe them before his Father, who confeſſe him before men? *Matth.* 10. 32. Which of our Non-conformiſts dare deny this? would they then be denied of Chriſt? or why deny they him his due? Take heede; the Apoſtle ſpeakes it plaine, *Rom.* 14. 11. *Phil.* 2. 11. and Jehovah having ſworne, will not recall it, *Iſa.* 45. 23. *Sponte vel invite*, as *Gorran*, with our good will therefore, or whether we will or no, he ſhall be exalted. And by the tongue too, *cantando, vel ululando*, ſinging, or howling. For the Father will be glorified in the Sonne by the glorious confeſſion of them that yeeld, or the glorious confuſion of them that ſtand out, ſaid the reverend Biſhop.

Gorr. in loc.

Zanch. in loc. You may now obſerve with *Zanchius*, a two-fold confeſſion of Chriſt. *Una piorum, altera impiorum.* One of the godly, of the wicked the other.

1. The firſt is two-fold alſo: One of faith in this life, *Rom.* 10. 10. the other of viſion at the end of this life. Both with a good will, and to ſalvation both; but with more joy, and the fulneſſe thereof is the laſt.

2. The ſecond of the reprobate is likewiſe two-fold: one in this life proceeding from a convicted conſcience, or generall faith without comfort; as that of *Judas*, *Mat.* 27. 4. The other from the event at the laſt day, when beholding thoſe things which before they would not beleeve, confeſſe they ſhall, and to their owne damnation, *Wiſdome* 5. 2. 3. 4. &c. Both with an ill will, and to confuſion both: but with more torment, and the fulneſſe thereof is the laſt.

Firſt and laſt, good and bad, all confeſſe; though not

all

all alike, yet to the high honour of God all. ἀν γὰρ ἡ οἰκουμένη ὑποταγῇ τῷ υἱῷ, τοῦτο πατρὸς ἐστὶ δόξα, For this that the whole world shall subject to the Sonne, is the glory of the Father, saith Saint *Chrysostome*. Suffice this here, more of, and to his glory after. *Chrysostom. ibid.*

All Jewes, Turkes, Pagans, Philosophers, Infidels, that beleeve not; All that have beene Christians, but now are Apostates; and all that are Christians, yet have tongues more free to the devill, then unto God, are condemned at πᾶσα γλῶσσα. For God made every tongue, and onely he. Who had no sharer in the worke, admits no sharer in the fruite. Every tongue ought to be his, and his onely. All *Heracleonites*, that to avoid persecution hold the confession of the mouth unnecessary; all *Helcesaits*, that when troubles arise for the truthes sake, think it lawfull, for their own sake, to abjure the Gospell; all Pattalorinchites, or Silentiaries, that will have their holinesse knowne by a diuturnall silence; all Catharists, Donatists, Anabaptists, Separatists, that are very open-tongued in justifying themselves, and damning others, but seale up their lips as if it were an inexpiable offence for all to speake out, and together in the publique Service of God; all Pontificiaries, Masse-priests, and other Papists, that locke up the publique confession in some one tongue or two, and send forth a *supersedeas* for all the rest; and all Justiciaries, Hypocrites, careless Professours, or luke-warme Christians, whose loud words win the applause of men, but their lewd doings dishonour God, and perturbe the peace of his Church, are condemned at ἐξομολογήσηται. For who provided the tongue for mans glory, will have that glory of man sound forth his owne praise. And not like sounding brasse, or a tinckling Cymball, but with an Eccho of such grace as may pierce the clouds, and resound honour unto God in the Highest. This, and all we maintaine from δὸξ, and still the argument is the union, and our salvation.

True Christians we, looking unto the deserving person, thinke not the duty strange. We know there is a time to speake, and to be silent a time. Observing therefore what ought to be done, we doe it when, and where we ought. At the Churches ordinary times, knees, and tongues shew our hearts; but at an extraordinary, if need require, we can spend our blood to testifie the sweet accordance of the inward and outward man. If sometimes

our tongues goe not with our knees, yet our hearts doe. If one, or other, or both be in action, both, or either of them are animated ever. Nor can we imagine that any one of us may take licence to be otherwise then is prescribed. None should be in shew onely, in earnest all. Nor will any ones earnest excuse anothers hypocrisie or neglect. Every tongue must have its proper spirit, and every spirit its proper tongue. We deny not any tongue the faculty here granted, nor barre any one the duty here injoyned. Out with it say we; for it is an honour to conquer the devill, and this the way. No magicall spell, but Christs owne warrant; that the powers of hell shall not prevaile against it. It ever was, is, and will be ever the glorious exercise of the blessed in heaven; and maugre all opposition, the religious on earth hoping to be perfect Saints at last, with all our might uphold the practise here. Yea who will not now, shall in the end be compelled, and doe it with the devill and his angels, in horrour of heart and confusion of face, with yelling tongues, and gnashing teeth for evermore. Considering this, whom the love and feare of God can move, the Apostles argument sufficeth us. To save his chosen, and confound our enemies, Christ at his going rode on the triumphall Charet hence; and is set down on the Throne of God, to be the Judge of quicke and dead. All shall be subdued unto him, his is the power, the Kingdome his, and therefore every tongue should confesse that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

Tract. VIII.

Ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, &c,
That Jesus Christ is Lord, &c.

CHrist is the right object, we are denominated of him, and therefore very kindly that he should be confessed by Christians. Who ransomed us, most meete it is, we doe acknowledge him. Most meet, and our chiefe glory to publish that Lord, whose servants we cannot be, and not be free. But he hath so adopted us into the liberty of Sonnes, that he being heire we are sure to be heires with him. Him therefore at all times and in all

all places, as is prescribed, our tongues extoll him. The text directs us, and from it our Church varies not. It is a plaine Article of our Creed, and our humble Petitions throughout the Liturgy are all concluded in the Name of Jesus Christ our Lord.

Prosecuting this in my former method, I doubt not, but they, who have had patience hitherto, will see the last period, and at last give glory that our evident practise is still in analogy of the truth.

There are three readings of this text: the Vulgar is every tongue should confesse that the Lord, or as the *Rhemists*, our Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father. Here, ὅτι, *that*, is aitiologicall, and the glory of God the Father the predicate. ὅτι. 1.

The Syriack is, every tongue should confesse the Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father. Here, ὅτι, *that*, is redundant, and the glory of God the Father is spoken of the tongue. 2.

Erasmus, *Beza*, and our Translatours say, every tongue should confesse that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father. Here, ὅτι, *that*, is declarative; *Lord* predicats of *Christ*, and the glory of God the Father is both the finall of our confessing, and of Christs Lordship. 3.

I finde them promiscuously among the Fathers, and therefore affirme with *Zanchius*, that they may be joyned thus. *Zanch. in loc.*

Every tongue should confesse that Jesus, which was crucified, and whom we call Christ, is the Lord in, and to the glory of God the Father. So that the Lord Jesus Christ, who is in the glory of the Father, according to the Vulgar, is the full of our confession, according to the Syriak, and all this to the glory of God the Father, according to the rest.

Saint *Athanasius* hath all three: Saint *Augustine* agrees with the Vulgar; and Saint *Chrysostome* with our Translatours. Though they differ among themselves, yet among them here is no distortion. The full sense thereof shall be ours: Because we would leave out nothing that may be comprehended to the glory of God the Father. *Athan. cont. Arria. orat. 2.* *August. de Trin. l. 1. c. 13.* *Chrysost. in loc.*

We have all can be said, whilest we say, τοῦτο, *this*, even this, that Jesus Christ is Lord, τοῦτο δὲ δόξα τοῦ πατρός, for this, the *Ibid.*

confession and the object, is the glory of the Father, according to Saint *Chrysostome*.

The object is now in hand, and under a three-fold title wee are bound to acknowledge him. And that we may not be mistaken, ὅτι, *that*, stands not vacant here. It puts us again in mind of διὰ τί, and tels how, and why, Christ is Jesus, and Jesus is Christ, and Jesus Christ is Lord. Even by the Union and for our salvation. Had he not beene man he could not have died, had he not beene God he could not have overcome death, and had he not beene God and man in one he could not have beene annointed with the Spirit above measure. As God and man then he was enabled to undertake for us, and to performe what he undertooke. Having done both, Jesus Christ is become the absolute Lord; the Lord by right of Creation, and by right of Redemption the Lord.

Κύριος. Ἰησοῦς. Χριστός.

In the Originall we inspecting this three-fold see an Hebrew Name compassed with two Greeke attributes. Whence may be inferred that at this confession the mercies of God are declared towards us Gentiles more, then to the Jewes. The Oracles of God were once included in a particular Church: but now they extend throughout the whole world. The Gentiles shall exceede at the restauration of all things. *Japhet* is enlarged, and we are innumerous in the Tents of *Shem*, *Rev.* 7. 9. Yet lest our vaunt should be of their rejection, Christ hath the Name in Hebrew, to shew that the Lord, whom we confesse, was neerest to, and must be the confessed Saviour of the Jewes. Though generally not yet called, they shall be restored before the generall call to judgement, *Rom.* 11. If we therefore will give Christ his due, we may not take from them theirs. The very Name of our Saviour remembers us that we should not ὑπηλογεῖν, insult over them. And had our zealous brethren throughly pondered this, they would not have dared, in their Sermons, to call us, who are not of their Sects, and furious spirits, dogges, toades, &c. My selfe have heard the worst; God forgive them. But if they minde us no better, what say they of the Jewes? Can they pray for them? if they can, why blame they our generall prayers in the Letany? God is mercifull toward all: and may we be uncharitable unto any? Most pitifull unto our selves we are never cruell toward them. Our standing and their renewing may both go in one Petition.

tion. God ſpared not the naturall branches, we cannot be too cautelous, leſt it come to paſſe, that he ſpare not us. Confeſſe we then him onely, and him alwayes, the Saviour of all; that when the Iewes are called we may be ſtill his, who firſt was, and will be theirs at laſt. Rom. 11. 21.

This is ſomething, and enough at this place for all thoſe, who in a daring age bound our Saviour within their owne liſts. As if none without might ever come into the Salvation of Jeſus.

Zanchius found an emphaſis in the Hebrew word, and demonſtrates it with an *Iſte*. That Jeſus, who was held a meere man, nay a chiefe ſinner, and ſo handled. He that at his birth tooke entertainement among beaſts, was perſecuted by *Herod* in his infancie, tempted by the Devill in his great Faſt, hated of his owne Countrey-men as demonicall, disfigured on Mount *Olivet* in a bloudy ſweate, betraied of *Judas*, and crucified by the Iewes. He it is, whom we confeſſe, and no other he. For he, and no other was, is, and may be denominated, of his owne habit and ſaving act, the Saviour. The Saviours, which have beene beſide, were, *obſcuræ imagines*, darke ſhadowes of him. The Angel therefore naming him Jeſus, in Saint *Matth.* 1. 21. telleth how great a one he is, even the Sonne of the moſt High, *Luke* 1. 32. So he ſhall be called, ſaid the Angel. Not that he was not ſo before he was ſo called, *ſuo tamen tempore manifeſtatus in carne*, but not knowne to be ſo before he was incarnate; as *Beza* noteth. Then he was ſo called, *quando apparebat & miracula faciebat*, when he appeared, and wrought miracles; as *Theophylact*. *Ibid.* Luc. 1. I. *Bez in Luc.* 1. 32. *Theophil. in Luc.* 1.

To make our confeſſion the more free, the Angel ſaith he is the Saviour of his people, in Saint *Matthew*; and in Saint *Luke*, he ſits on the Throne of *David*, Raignes over the houſe of *Jacob*, and of his Kingdome ſhall be no end. Not then as other Saviours he, who by his grace brought ſome temporall ſafety to a particular people. This man came not to ſave the Iewes onely, but the whole world, *John* 4. 42. The world of ſinners we, οὐ κ ἴδιος ἐσμὲν λαὸς, are his peculiar people, ſo *Cyrillus Alexandrinus* on that of Saint *Matthew*. And on the other of Saint *Luke* he argueth thus: Shall we under the Empire of one like us, be preſſed, διηνεκῶς, κ ἀκαταλήκτως, perpetually, and without interruption, or not rather be ſubject 2. *Cyril. Alex. in Religi. Regin.*

Theophyl. ibid. unto God raigning over us in Christ? *Theophylact* therefore will not have the seate, or Throne of *David*, *sensibile quoddam Regnum*, *sed divinum*, some sensible Kingdome (as the Jewes dreame, and the Apostles sometimes thought) but a divine, wherein Christ doth rule over all Nations by his word preached. And not ordinarily onely, but extraordinarily enlightning also by his Spirit, where the word consigned hath not beene, nor is. For who are illuminated to beleeve, though they have not the Bible under their armes, nor other bookes to read save the Creatures of God, are undoubtedly, *populus suus*, his people too, wheresoever they be. Saint *Augustine* beleeved this, and who will not, doe deny the speciall operation of the Holy Ghost.

August de civit. Dei l. 18. c. 47.

3. Thirdly, thus confessing we conclude our owne happines. For the Angel saith, that Jesus saves us from our sinnes. We summe up all our goods at this worke, and shew not a freedome from evill transient onely, but that this object of our faith hath vindicated us, *a peccatis*, from the perpetuall servitude of sin, & tyranny of Satan. Herein we wonderfully spread abroad his Deity. *Solius enim Dei est ignoscere peccatum*, for it is God onely that forgiveth sinnes, was the confession of his enemies. Θεὸς οὖν ἄρα ὅδε, &c. A Saviour then, and such a Saviour; there can be no such confessed, who is not confessed God; is the inference of *Cyrillus Alexandrinus*. From the bondage of *Egypt*, out of the hands of the *Canaanites*, and *Philistims*, or from the captivity of *Babylon*, such deliverance did but typifie this.

Ibid.

For this let his Name be high among men on earth. Let it be so, and cried up in spight of Jewes, Turkes, Atheists, Philosophers, Puritans, Brownists, and who ever contemne, or neglect the reverend esteeme of it. If any thing be precious, *Nomen Jesu quam carum*? How deare is the Name of Jesus? *quam vile*? *quam salubre*? how vile was it made, in which was so great salvation? *si vile non esset mihi non effunderetur*, if it had not beene vile it had not beene poured out for me, saith Saint *Bernard*; if it had not beene saving, it had not been gaine to me. It was poured out that it might be my gaine. Sure my love of it may shew sense of sin, and my honouring it truth of love: But can no more make me a Jesuit then my confession of Jesus in the Creed doth proclaime me

Bern. sup. cant. ser. 15.

me Antichriſtian. Happy man who is ſheltred under the skirts of God and man unto ſalvation.

Doubtleſſe to confeſſe Jeſus by knee and tongue is no ſhame. For he is not incidently a Saviour, but משיח, χριστὸς, annointed to that end. Above his fellowes annointed, *Pſal.* 45.7. Annointed to all the three offices, which God from the beginning erected to ſave his people. To all the three, which never met in any other, that nothing in him might be wanting to the perfecting of this worke; ſaid the late Oracle of our times. Χριστὸς. *B. B. Andrewes in his Sermon on Luc.* 2.10. 11.

As to the *Romans, indumentum purpuræ inſigne eſt regiæ dignitatis aſſumptæ*, the putting on of purple is an enſigne of regality aſſumed; ſo with the Jewes, *unctio ſacri unguenti nomen ac poteſtatem Regiam conferebat*, the ſacred unction conferred the Regall Name and power, ſaith *Lactantius*. And not the Name and power of a King onely, but of Prieſt, and Prophet alſo, ſay the Scriptures. For *Aaron* the Prieſt was annointed, *Levit.* 8. 12. So was *Eliſha* the Prophet, 1 *King.* 19. 16. and *Saul* the King, 1 *Sam.* 10. 1. And though *Lactantius*, *Iſidore*, and others call the Name Chriſt, *nuncupatio poteſtatis*, a declaration of power, yet they and we confeſſe, with *Tertullian*, that this *veſtitus Nominis*, is the inveſting of Jeſus unto his three-fold office, and expreſſeth, ſaith *Damaſcene*, his full prerogative of grace. *Lact. de vera Sapien. l.* 4. *c.* 7. *Lact. ibi. l. Iſred. Etym. l.* 8. *c.* 2. *Tertul. adv. Prax. c.* 28.

I.

To be a Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedec*, *Pſal.* 110. 4. *Ad purgandum*, to purge us from the evill we gained, induing with the grace we loſt. A Prieſt, that did not onely offer, but himſelfe was the offering, and the Altar. The two firſt; for the man Chriſt Jeſus gave himſelfe a ranſome for all, 1 *Tim.* 2. 5. 6. The third too; for *unctio humanitatis eſt divinitas*, as the Altar doth ſanctifie the gift, his Godhead ſanctified the manhood. By his bloud he redeemed the Church, *Acts* 20. 28. by his Deity his bloud obtained power to ſanctifie the elect, *Heb.* 9. 14. The vertue of Chriſts death lies on the eternall Spirit that dwelleth in him, οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ, on nothing elſe, ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtome*. And thus Chriſt is made unto us wiſdome, ſanctification, righteouſneſſe, and redemption. He is *Redemptor & precium* (as Saint *Hierome*) the Redeemer and the price. All that may be, that, who leave all for him, may finde him for all. The exultation of the Pſalmiſt is the higheſt for every one: *Pars mea, Dominus*, the Lord is my portion. *Damaſc. orthod. fid. l.* 3. *c.* 3. *Matt.* 23 17. *Chryſoſt. in Heb. c.* 9 *ſerm.* 15. 1 Cor. 1. 30. *Hieron. ad Paul.*

To

1. To be a Prophet, *Isa.* 61. 1. When *Moses* should be silent, *Deut.* 18. 18. *Acts* 3. 22. *Ad illuminandum*, to save us from the by-paths of errour, guiding our feete in the way of peace. By his prophesie in externall promulgation, and internall illumination his Fathers will is before us. He is the Legate, the Angel, of God and of the Covenant, *Mal.* 3. 1. ὁ καθηγητὴς, that Doctour, *Mat.* 23. 8, 10. in whom are the hidden mines of all knowledge, *Col.* 2. 3. *Via, veritas, vita*, the way, the truth, the life; walking, trusting, abiding in him we shall never be lost. *Quò vis ire? ego sum via: Quo vis ire? ego sum veritas: Ubi vis permanere? ego sum via;* said Saint *Augustine* on the words of Christ. In the way, in the truth, in the life, is no danger, no detriment, no death. In whom we live, move, and have our being, be we, move we, live we, and through this valley of humility he will exalt us unto the height of glory.

Joh. 14 6.

Aug. de verb. Dom. in evang. secund. Joan. ser. 54.

2. To be King, *Psal.* 2. 6. whose Name should be the Lord our righteousnesse, *Jer.* 32. 6. *Ad perficiendum*, to defend us by his power essentially, upholding us in goodnesse by his grace personally. Inchoatively here, hereafter perfectly. He sets going, keepes all right, and protecting in the Wildernesse conducts unto *Canaan*. For over sinne, death, and the Law God hath given us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ, 1 *Cor.* 15. 57. In all things we are more then conquerours through him, *Rom.* 8. 37. Be we wounded by enemies in our pilgrimage? Our King is the Chirurgian to heale. Fall we into a burning Feaver? *fons est*, he is the Fountaine to refresh. Are we over-burdened with sinne? *justitia est*, he is the righteousnesse to justifie. Faint we? *virtus est*, he is the power to sustaine. Are we in darknesse? *Lux est*, he is the light to enlighten. Feare we death? *vita est*, he is the life to enlive us. Desire we Heaven? *via est Christus*, Christ is the way to attaine it, saith Saint *Ambrose*.

3. Looke now on the three degrees of our misery, *ignorantiam*, ἀταξίαν, *reatum*. First, ignorance, as well of evill wherein we were drowned, as of good whereof we were deprived. Next, the disorder, and confusion, which seised on all the faculties of soule and body. Thirdly, the guilt contracted from both the other. This done, confessing Christ, we acknowledge that *Moses* Prophet expels our ignorance, *Jeremiahs* King orders our faculties.

Ambros.

1.

2.

3.

ties, and *Davids* Prieſt expiates our guilt.

Is thus much gotten? and yet not lawfull to confeſſe the protecting-inſtructing Mediatour? Where nothing can be repayed it is gratitude to ſpeake out the ſuper-abundant grace of the Donour. A bleſſed confeſſion ſure, and moſt comfortable this, that a Saviour, and he annointed to ſave ſinners; no Tyrant, no uſurper, *Jeſus Chriſt is Lord.*

Lord before, by that he is Sonne: And now Lord againe by vertue of his *propter quod*, ſaith Biſhop *Andrewes*. As God he was ever Lord; but not ever Lord as God and man. At δὲ ᾧ, we found he had a time and a cauſe for this, who had no time nor cauſe beſide himſelfe for the other. Nor yet may it be thought that he, aſſuming our fleſh, received, *meliorationem in humiliatione*, any melioration thereby, as Saint *Athanaſius* ſpeaketh. Οὐκοῦν ἀπλῶς ἦν κύριος τοῦτο, ᾧ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐγένετο τελείῳ. For thereby he was imperfect, and made perfect for us, ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome*. For us the one and the other: Neither the one in himſelfe, nor for himſelfe the other. No ſuch thing, no: It is we, by his taking on himſelfe our infirmities, are made perfect in him. Not then annointed, that he might be God, or King, or the Sonne, or the Word; but as God, and the King, and the Sonne, and the Word he annointed us in himſelfe, that we alſo through him ſhould be the Lords annointed.

Κύριος. *Athanaſ. cont. Arr. orat. 2. Chryſoſt. in loc.*

Thus we proclaime him Lord, and with great triumph now: becauſe we are now ſure he is our Lord. Lord in ours, and of us Lord. And being ſo ours, the *Rhemiſts*, in their Paraphraſe here, have not miſinſerted *our*.

Though he were *iſte*, as before; that one whom the world contemned, yet in his greateſt obſcurity, or hatred, he was ever the magnified Lord. When he lay in the Manger a multitude of the heavenly hoaſt ſung his praiſe: The Angel ſent Shepheards to tell him to the Jewes, the Heavens ſent a Starre to ſhew him to the Gentiles; and the Eaſt Wiſemen to worſhip him in *Bethlehem*. The very infants left their Mothers breaſts to yeeld their lives in teſtimony of his Lordſhip. Who hath heard, or read any thing, and hath not read, or heard either of the voyce proclaiming him from Heaven, or of the Devils confeſſing him the Son of God; or of his transfiguration on Mount *Tabor*; or of his commanding the creatures, even the moſt lawleſſe, the Wind, and the

Sea; or of his miracles, in multiplying a ſmall quantity of food to ſatisfie thouſands, in curing all ſorts of diſeaſes, in caſting Divels forth of the poſſeſſed, and in raiſing the dead; or of the confounding of his apprehenders; or of the theeves requeſt on the Croſſe; or of the darkneſſe then over all the Land; or of his giving up the Ghoſt, the renting of the Temple, the quaking of the earth, the ſundring of ſtones, the opening of the graves, and the appearing of the dead? Who can minde theſe, or any of theſe, and not confeſſe that the Lord was here in our fleſh? But when we conſider that Chriſt at his owne ſet time reſumed the life he laid downe, and trampled the powers of Hell under his feete: when we behold his Aſcenſion, and animadvert his viſible ſending of the Holy Ghoſt, doe we not ſee that Chriſt is Lord? when we heare of his Apoſtles loſing their lives for their Maſter, and of thoſe multitudes of Martyrs throughout the tenne perſecutions, under all manner of torments faithfull to him; what will wee ſay? Shall I teach every one what to ſay? Even with Saint *Thomas*, *My Lord, and my God*, *John* 20. 28. πῶς οὐ θεὸς, ὁ τῇ τῶ μαρτυρεῖν δόξῃ στεφανῶν τὰς ἀληθεῖς ὁμολογοῦντας αὐτὸν; for how is hee not to be reputed God, who crownes thoſe, that truely confeſſe him, with the glory of Martyrdome? ſaith *Cyrillus Alexandrinus*. All the Fathers in the Councels of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, *Chalcedon*, and in the more and more corrupted after giving him the place anathematize every one that decries his Lordſhip. Our Church alſo, ever bleſſed be God, according to the Scriptures in an holy emulation of the meſt religious and learned doth in her Liturgy promote him Lord. Who preacheth the contrary let him be *Anathema*, *Maran-atha*.

Cyril. Alexa. in orat. Relig. Reg. in Matth. 22. 32.

Confeſſed he is Lord: But what Lord? is next. Even the Lord Paramount, no meſin, or pettie Lord. Lord of all: of the three Regions before, and of the orders of confeſſours there. Lord of Heaven, ſaith the reverend Biſhop; he gave the Keyes of it, *Matth.* 16. 9. Lord of earth; he hath the Key of *David*, and of every Kingdome elſe, *Rev.* 3. 7. Lord of Hell; the Keyes of Hell and death are his, *Rev.* 1. 18. Heaven is his Throne, Earth is his footſtoole, Hell his priſon. Heaven, Earth, Hell, and all there are his Seigniory. He is within, without, above, beneath, penetrating, compaſſing, guiding, ſuſtaining all things. *Elohim*, that being, which in three perſons is individually one; and of thoſe three

Greg. ſup. Ezec. Hom. 8.

three that one person which being neither the Father, nor the Holy Ghost, is still the same with both. *Jehovah*, the Creatour, Redeemer and Sanctifier. Not that the Father, and the Holy Ghost are excluded in these workes, but neither doth either without him. Κύριος, as the *Septuagint* ever translate יהוה, and is our Apostles here. He that is sure and makes all sure: The gracious beginning, defensive continuing, and finall ending. Sure in election, sure in vocation, sure in justification, and in glorification sure, *Rom.* 8. 29, 30. Lord, that is, as appeares out of the *Saxon* record, one that affordeth bread. And so doth Christ; for he is the true Laford, that once feasted the whole world with his owne body and bloud, the bread, and drinke of eternall life. He is still the foode of our soules, and we have no refection, but in, and through him. Nay he gives us all we have, that all we have might be for his use. Lasdians then should we, the children of his Spouse, be, that is, faithfull distributers of the bread our Lord affordeth. *Verstega. Antiq.*

If you will here understand the temporall staffe of bread, may I not truly say; Never was more Lording in *England*, and in *England* lesse bread distributed never? But if you intend it spiritually, I blesse God, for the great care taken, that the Word may be constantly distributed, and I would there was as great, that it might be sincerely preached. I meane, that there might be no perverting of the Scriptures, no denying of the publike administration of the Sacraments. But what pity it is, that who rightly and duly observe both should lose the Name, and be counted Antichristian?

I tremble thinking what things of lower degree come within the bounds of Sacriledge. Christ saith, Who honour his, honour him; then who dishonour his, dishonour him. But we are contented to be the contemned on earth, that none of the poore in spirit may want the spirituall bread; and I wish, that the more able were as forward, that none might beg their temporall.

Is it forgotten how *David* revenged the Shaving of his Embassadours, and the cutting off of their garments? Certainely if repentance doe not prevene, the Lord will remember those that preach downe the Hierarchy of the Church: He will remember, and not forget their followers, that run with violence not to extirpate it onely, but to trample it and all the Mini- *2 Sam.* 10.

ſters of God under it in the very filth of infamie. I write no unknowne thing, but wiſh it were not ſo knowne, that it might not be thus written. If I have beene over bold; now in the Apoſtles words, I beſeech you brethren, that yee know them, which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admoniſh you; I beſeech you, that yee have them in ſingular love for their workes ſake. Be at peace among your ſelves. 1 *Theſ.* 5.12,13.

Be at peace, and in this yee confeſſe that Jeſus Chriſt is Lord. For peace is his: He is the God of peace, 1 *Theſ.* 5.23. and our peace too, *Epheſ.* 2.14. He cannot be acknowledged the peace-maker betweene God and us, nor we his members whileſt we be at hatefull oddes among our ſelves. Where love is not, the Holy Ghoſt will not be, and where he is not, no man can, as he ought, ſay that Jeſus Chriſt is Lord, 1 *Cor.* 12.3. For confeſſing him Lord, we confeſſe more then he in himſelfe is, our ſelves alſo to be in obedience unto him. Who keepe not in his ſervice, deny him to be their Lord. For it is not enough with Saint *Peter*, to cry, Lord ſave, I ſinke, *Matth.* 14.30. unleſſe alſo we can with Saint *Paul*, ſay, Lord, what wouldeſt thou, that I ſhould doe? *Acts* 9.6. and doe what the Lord wils. With the whole man too, outwardly and inwardly, where, and as he requires. He being wholly ours, who are onely his will be whole to him. Soules, bodies, lands, goods, lives, and all are at his ſervice. So he be ours, and we his, let him doe with us, as he pleaſeth. He ſaved us, and we will be governed by him. To whom he hath beene Lord Jeſus, to us be he Jeſus Lord.

The *Ebionits*, *Samoſatenians*, that deny the greatneſſe we affirme requiſite in our Mediatour to ſalvation; The *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, *Barrowiſts*, *Separatiſts*, that ſeclude whom they pleaſe, as if none, ſave their holy on earth, might ever be Saints in Heaven, and yet handle our Saviour, as if he were to ſerve their turns alwayes, and they him onely, when, and as they liſt: And the *Simonians*, *Menandrians*, *Pſeudo-Chriſts*, that ſacrilegiouſly impropriate his vertue, are condemned at Jesus. For there confeſſing our deliverance from ſuch evill, we confeſſe the greatneſſe of our Saviour alſo, and acknowledge him the onely able for us, and not onely for us, but for the ſinnes of the whole world. We ſay not whoſe he is not, but knowing him to be ours, reſt in that.

The

The *Valentinians*, *Marcionits*, *Manichees*, with the other *Opinats*, or *Docits*, that make Christs death fictitious to take away the truth of his Sacrifice; The *Ethnicks*, that, in opposition, preferre *Apollonius Tyanæus* before Christ; the *Novatians*, *Rogatists*, *Maximinianists*, *Circumcelliones*, that borrow the broome of *Donatus*, to sweepe the Church; The *Jewes*, *Chiliasts*, *Æternals*, that provide for the Messias, as if his Kingdome were of this world, and our happinesse in the various delights thereof; And the Papists, that like the Heathen have set up a great Cauldron to purge souls in, equall traditions to the Scriptures, and make the Pope head of the Church, are condemned at Χριστός. For there we confesse him such a Priest, such a Prophet, such a King, as never the like. In his propitiation the ransome is unvaluable, in his institution the doctrine infallible, in his government the supremacie incommunicable. All these onely in him infinite, may not be held by any other. The *Basilidians*, *Origenists*, *Arrians*, *Apollinarists*, *Donatists*, that, saying there was a time when Christ was not, impiously call the Sonne of God the first begotten creature; The *Artemonits*, *Photinians*, *Monophysits*, that will not have him God before he was incarnate; The *Semi-arrians*, whether *Acatians*, that affirme the Sonne to be like the Father; or *Ennomians*, that teach him of another nature then the Father; or *Aetians*, that make him unlike in all things to the Father; or *Eudoxians*, that hold him as a servant of the Father; The *Carpocratians*, *Messalians*, *Coluthians*, that denying God the administration of the world bestow the Lordship over men on the evill Angels; The *Marcionits*, *Manichees*, that deeming the world a worke unworthy of Divine providence substitute some *Atlas* to sustaine it; The *Pontificiaries*, *Socinians*, that question the sufficiencie of Christs Lordship; And *Schismatiks*, or relapsed *Protestants*, that scorne to give him due, and full worship, are condemned at κύριος. For there Christ is confessed the eternall God, consubstantiall, and coequall with the Father. The same before the Incarnation, and no other now. Lord of all, above, and below, ruling his servants graciously in peace, and trampling his enemies under his feete in ire. Nothing may controll him, nor is any thing too little for his providence. This, and all we maintaine from θεὸς ἡμῶν, and still the argument is the Union and our salvation.

True Christians we, considering humility the basis of glory, can value our Saviour even by his disrespect in the world. Who would save it, Jew and Gentile, from sinne must be reckoned among sinners. He therefore being the Sonne of the Highest, the lower he appeared for us, the more he shewed his love. For in that estate not losing his owne all his gaines redound to us. Because he could not be unlorded in ours, we are dignified in his. Not so, as if he having served our turnes, we should no longer serve him: but that, his annointing descending on us, we might walke in the odour of his unguents. He the constituted Priest, to mediate by redemption and intercession; we his sanctified to offer in faith, the fruits of regeneration, prayers, praises, good workes, and a holy life. He the Prophet, by the Word and the Spirit to instruct; we the Disciples to beare the characters of the one, and set forth the graces of the other. He the King, ruling in might, and mercie to preserve; we the subjects in feare, obedience, and faithfulnesse to observe his pleasure, in fighting against the enemies, and maintaining the peace of his Kingdom. Such we confesse him, and our selves such confessours through him. Nor is this all: Our King, our Prophet, our Priest, our Saviour is not transiently ours, but eternall he. Not now and not hereafter, the same now and ever. What comfort have we? We being annointed shall never be feared; nor ever fleeced being his saved. For Jesus Christ is still that Lord, which, the Sonne of God he, was before the Incarnation. He hath the Keyes to unlocke Heaven, and the Keyes to locke up Hell. In whose hands we are, none can snatch us from him. Because he is that being whence all things have being; and the immutable God having elected us will never alter his purpose. That he will not, we can demonstrate that. He informes us by his Word, confirmes us by his Sacraments, and repleniseth our hearts with heavenly desires. Our thoughts, our words, our workes, tend to him. And such is our reverence in adoring, that if an unbeleever should be present at our publike service, he falling downe would say, Verily God is among us, and with us confesse that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father.

Tract. IX.

Εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πατρός.

To the glory of God the Father.

WE may here, as *Beza* noteth, interpret εἰς δόξαν, by ἐν δόξῃ, and read *in the glory*. *Novatianus* doth so; so doth Saint *Ambrose*; so saith Saint *Athanasius* sometimes; Saint *Hierome* alwayes, and Saint *Augustine* too, as was observed before. Δόξα, glory then involving all the excellencies of nature boundlesse in the Creatour, the sense must be; Christ is Lord in the same Majesty, and of the same treasures with God the Father. Lord of glory, 1 *Cor.* 2. 8. King of glory, *Psal.* 24. 7. God of glory, *Acts* 7. 2. *Fides æquat Filium Patri, atque utrique eandem gloriam confitetur*, saith Saint *Ambrose*. The Father and the Sonne are in our faith both consubstantiall, and coequall. Neither before, nor behinde other in wisdome, counsell, understanding, power, comlinesse, graciousnesse, blessednesse, or whatsoever is Gods, beyond our comprehension infinitely.

Εἰς δόξαν. *Bez. in loc. Novat. de Trin. c. 7. Ambros. in loc. Athanas. cont. Arr. orat. 2. Aug. in Ioh. trac. 104. c. 17 & in locis citatis. Ambros. l. 6. Examer. c. 9.*

In this immense and increated glory Christ, as the Sonne of God, ever was, is, and with the Father shall be ever. He is in the forme of God, and therefore no robery for him to be equall to God, *vers.* 6. *Immo non fuit, quasi jam non sit, nec erit, quasi nondum sit, sed sine initio, sine fine semper est claritas*, Yea, it was not, as if it were not now, nor shall be, as if it were not yet, but without beginning, without end the glory is alwayes, saith Saint *Augustine*. He is the brightnesse of Gods glory, and the Image of his substance, *Heb.* 1. 3. The Apostle there declares τὸ ἴσον τῆ οὐσίας, καὶ τῆ θεῷ τῆ πατρὶ ἐγγύτητα, his equality of substance, and propinquity with the Father, as Saint *Chrysostome* expounds it. Nor did, or could his inhumanation breed any disparity: God forbid, that we should thinke so: so, that the flesh brought ignominy to the Word. The Sonne is not diminished in his Deity, *sed potius cura per verbum Dei glorificata est*, but the

Aug. in Iohan. Trac. 104. c. 17. Chrysost. in Heb. ser. 2. Athanas. ad Adelp. orat. 3.

the flesh rather is glorified by the Word of God, saith *Athanasius*. For as man also, he from the very instant of the personall union, τ δόξαν τ ἀφράτε θεότητος πλέως ἐπλουτήκει, was so perfectly inriched with the glory of the invisible Deity, ὡς μίαν κ ἀυτὴν εἶναι δόξαν τ̃ λόγου, κ τ̃ σαρκός, that one and the same might be the glory of the Word and the flesh, saith *Damascen*. Vailed it in his visible body from the eyes of men, yet was full in him. Witnesse his transfiguration; where taking nothing, nor changing into any thing which was not, he to his Disciples opening their sight, shewed that which was.

Damasc. in orat. de Dominic. transf.

Yet with *Zanchius* I affirme that as man he was not alwayes in this glory, *per perfectissimam fruitionem*, after the highest fruition. Thus onely after death: For his prayer was to be glorified with the Father in the glory, which he had with him from eternity, *John* 17. 5.

And though as man he by the union obtained this increated glory in respect of his person, yet we deprive him not of the created, wherein his humane nature resides by reall participation. This, though finite, is so cleare in him, that he in it is refulgent throughout Heaven. Heaven wants no Sunne, nor Moone; the glory of God lightens it, *& lucerna ejus est Agnus*, and the light thereof is the Lamb, *Rev.* 21. 13. This visible all the blessed shall behold, and most happy we in enjoying this. This is manant, not the essentiall. The Sunne gives light, yet the light is formally in the Sunne; As the effect from the cause, so is this. By personall union the one, by communication the other. And neither the one way, nor the other for himselfe. For us Christ was assumed unto and abides in both. Both are fully manifested in him, that we through him assured to be glorified perfectly, might with full voyce, heart, and tongue, confesse him Lord in, and of the glory. In it himselfe, without whom is no glory, and of it Lord to glorifie whom he pleaseth.

And all this to the glory of God the Father. To the glory that he is Lord; and to the glory that we confesse him Lord. The Fathers take both, and finding both expressed in the Scriptures, we reject neither.

First, we should confesse that all his Lordship is not to his owne glory, but to his Fathers. For, at his Nativity, the Angels give the glory thereof unto God in the highest, *Luke*

Luke 2. 13, 14. God the Father twice proclaimed by voyce from Heaven that he tooke the glory of him to himselfe. At his Baptisme first in the river *Jordan*, *Matth.* 3. 17. At his transfiguration next on Mount *Tabor*, *Matth.* 17. 5. Christ professeth also that he seeketh not his owne glory, but honoureth the Father, *John* 8. 49, 50. On earth he ever did so, *John* 17. 5. and the Father having glorified him by *Super* upon *Super*, he by his Lordship over Heaven, Earth, and Hell, glorifieth the Father for ever and ever, *John* 17. 1.

As he was, and what he did in his humiliation; as he is, and whatsoever he doth in his exaltation, all in himselfe, and for us is, *ad gloriam*, to the glory of the Father. His humiliation was; For the Word was made flesh, and suffered death in the flesh, *non ad ignominiam Deitatis, sed ad gloriam Dei Patris*, not to the dishonour of the Deity, but to the glory of God the Father. Because it is his glory, *hominem jam conditum, & amissum recuperari, &c.* that man, now lost should be recovered, vivified being dead, and made the Temple of God. So *Athanasius*. His exaltation too: For it is the Fathers glory, τὸ κύριον ἔχειν πάντων τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν, to have his Sonne Lord of all things. So *Cyrillus Alexandrinus*; And of all in himselfe and for us hath the Father glory: For his perfection, sufficiencie, equality, in power, goodnesse, & wisdome, is, τεκμήριον μέγα, the great argument, of the Fathers power, goodnesse, and wisdome, τοῦτο, this is it, ὅτι υἱὸν τοιοῦτον ἐγέννησε, that he hath begotten such a Sonne: so Saint *Chrysostome*. It is the Sonnes glorie sets forth the Fathers, *Heb.* 1. 2. *Per filium glorificari patrem, quis negat?* No man denies that; so Saint *Augustine*. Thinke not then that *gloria filio*, shall abate ought of *gloria patri*. Let the feare be farre from us, that in exalting the Sonne, we shall eclipse the glory of the Father, saith the reverend Bishop.

1. *Athanas. cont. Arr. orat. 2.*

2. *Cyril. Alexand. orat Relig Reg. de recta fide.*

3. *Chrysost. in loc.*

Aug. cont. serm. Arrian. c. 31.

Nay, our confession, implicit, by the knee, and, explicit, of the tongue, is to his glory. The Syriak interpreter renders it thus: *Omnis lingua confiteatur Dominum Jesum Christum ad gloriam Dei Patris sui*, every tongue should confesse the Lord Jesus to the glory of God his Father. This also intended *Arias Montanus* by observing two Comma's here; one before ὅτι, the word, *that*, another after, Χριστὸς, the name, *Christ*; and therefore translates it *in gloriam*. As if he had said, every tongue

ſhould confeſſe unto the the glory of God the Father, that Jeſus Chriſt is Lord. Saint *Chryſoſtome* applies his ὅταν εἴπω, as often as he uſeth it on the place, unto εἰς δόξαν. This, that Christ is, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ, as the Father, is the higheſt demonſtration of the Fathers glory. Yet alſo, ὅταν εἴπω, when I ſay that ſuch a one he is, ᾧ ὡ τούτῳ πάλιν ἐπὶ πλέον δοξάζω, even in this, that I ſo ſay, I doe againe glorifie God. As if the Father having glorified the Sonne, and himſelfe being glorified in him, we confeſſing it doe our way ſomewhat glorifie both. Both: for the great things, we ſpeake of the Sonne, goe to the Father alſo. And but ſomewhat; μικρὸν γάρ ἐστι, for it is but little to the glory of God, τὸ τῶν ὅλων κτίσμα αὐτῷ προσκυνῆσαι, that the world ſhould adore him, ſaith the ſame Father. Not that this little doth adde any thing to his glory, but his glory is in our ſmall meaſure ſet forth by ſuch acknowledgement. Not more, or leſſe in it ſelfe for us, by us more, or leſſe declared onely. It is our duty of thankfulneſſe, 1 *Cor.* 6. 20. He hath redeemed us, and we have need to caſt our eyes on him. *Totum quod recte colitur Deus, homini prodeſt, non Deo*, as Saint *Auguſtine*. Not for want in him, but for our ſupply. The Fountaine gaines not by our drinking there, nor the light by our ſeeing it. Our recourſe to him argues his fulneſſe, and our indigence. Yea, to returne all in humility to him is the onely way to keepe him moſt bountifull unto us. For whoſoever ſhall confeſſe him before men, him will he confeſſe before his Father which is in Heaven, *Matthew* 10. 32. Who deny him, by him ſhall be denied, *v.* 33.

Chryſ. ibid.

Aug. de civit. Dei l. 9. *c.* 5.

Chriſt ever glorified the Father, *John* 17. 5. He taught us ſo to doe, *Matth.* 6. 9. the Apoſtles followed his example, *Acts* 2. 47. the bleſſed are alwayes in the practiſe, *Rev.* 4. & 5. & 7. the utmoſt end of the ſacred Trinity is the glory of God in all things, *Iſa.* 63. 12, 14. and if here we obſerve the pointing of the three verſes, we have no ſtay till all be brought thereto. For the ninth verſe is divided by a Colon, ſo is the tenth; which ſhewes that neither of them are full without eleventh. The eleventh then giving the period, the laſt Comma tels whereto all before doth tend. Beginne therefore at the firſt word of the ninth verſe, and from wherefore, being the union of our ſalvation; proceed, and carry the exaltation of the perſon, and Name by God; deſcend therewith, and take the exaltation of the

Rev. 5 13.

the Name and Perſon by us, and what will become of all? What? I ſpeake it with alacrity, all comes to the glory of God the Father. The Perſon before glorifying is now the Perſon glorified. Wherein the Son did for us; wherein the Father did for the Sonne; and wherein we acknowledge both, thereof God the Father taketh all the glory.

The ever bleſſed, and glorious Virgin, the Mother of God, hath no part herein: Her ſoule doth magnifie the Lord, *Luke* 1. 46. Nor any of the Saints: All the Saints give thankes unto him, *Pſal.* 105. 10. Nor any of the Angels: All his Angels praiſe him, *Pſal.* 128. 2. Nor any of the faithfull: Not unto us Lord, not unto us, but to thy Name be the glory, *Pſal.* 115. 10. The Devill ambitious of it was caſt into hell, 2 *Pet.* 2. 4. If any on earth entitle themſelves thereto, *Tophet* of old is prepared for the King, *Iſa.* 30. 33. And who attributes it unto Idols, in the Law is accurſed, *Deut.* 27. 15. God is, *in ſeipſo ſicut α & ω*, in himſelfe as the firſt and the laſt; in the world, *ſicut rector & author*, as the authour and orderer; in the Angels, *ſicut ſapor & decor*, as delight and comlineſſe; in the Church, *ſicut paterfamilias in domo*, as the goodman in the houſe; in the ſoule, *ſicut ſponſus in thalamo*, as the bridegroome in the bridechamber; in the juſt, *ſicut adjutor & protector*, as an upholder and protectour; in the reprobate, *ſicut pavor & tremor*, as dread and horrour, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*. If he doe all, and be all in all, whoſe is the glory? That which is his peculiar he will not communicate to another, *Iſa.* 42. 8. *Aug.*

Nor can he be defrauded; For he is Θεὸς, if you will ἀπὸ τοῦ θεᾶσθαι, omnipreſent, nothing may evade him; If as others ἀπὸ τοῦ θέειν, he compaſſeth all things nothing comprehending him. If from δείδω rather, then he is formidable; his children will not diſpleaſe him, and his enemies yeeld him glory in their trembling. The ſeventy Interpreters in the Old Teſtament, and the Holy Ghoſt in the New expreſſe אלוהים by it. The God which is the Father, and the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoſt, this is he. For the Hebrew word, in forme plurall, and in ſignification mighty, implies the myſtery of the Trinity. Θεὸς.

Bring theſe together, and if Men or Devils arrogate his glory, they are ſure to pay the utmoſt farthing. But he giving all his to the Sonne, as before, doth neither put it from himſelfe,

ſelfe, nor from the Holy Ghoſt. Becauſe they three being one God and the ſame God, whatſoever is ſet forth in the one is not more or leſſe the others.

Let the minde be pure at all times, eſpecially when we either ſpeake or heare any thing of God. Οὔτε γὰρ γλῶσσα ἱκανὴ, οὔτε τοὺς ἀκούσαι τῆς θείας ἀξίαν τῶν θείων πράγματα, for neither is the tongue able to ſpeake, nor the eare to heare of him as his dignity requires, ſaid *Chryſoſtome*. Be religious within, and conſider: Can we worſhip one Perſon and not another? Diſtinguiſh them without diviſion, and we cannot. But when it is expreſſed in the Scripture that, as *Beza* noteth, *non poſſit niſi in filio gratus honor illi tribui*, no honour ſave in the Sonne can be acceptable, Why ſhould any thinke the Sonne may have too much? The more the Sonne is worſhipped, is not the Father worſhipped the more? Reaſon will ſay ſo, when no other way may be found unto him. Who have another, let them goe by it. I am ſure he points out the Sonne onely to us: *This is my beloved Sonne in whom I am well pleaſed*, *Matth.* 3. 17. and 17. 5. Well pleaſed, with whom? He ever was with him: and now without him diſpleaſed, in him is well pleaſed with us alſo. And as ſure I am that the Sonne ſends us in his owne Name unto the Father. *No man commeth unto the Father, but by me*, *John* 14. 6. *And whatſoever yee aske the Father in my Name, he will give it you*, chap. 16. *v.* 23. *I am in the Father, and the Father is in me*, he is not ſeene without me, nor will he heare, ſave in the ſenſe of my Name. Come to me; for ſo yee goe to him. Come thus, bow, confeſſe, and make an Idol if you can of me: Doe what yee can to honour me: and what you doe is to the glory of God the Father.

Chryſoſt in Heb. c. 1. ſer. 1

Beza in loc.

Who gave all to the Sonne to him doth all returne. To him Πατρὶ. καθ' ὑπεροχήν, by excellencie. Becauſe he is, πάντων, the preſerver not onely of things Created, but of the Unity in Trinity alſo. Πατὴρ then is the beginning without beginning: *fons Deitatis*, the fountaine of the Deity, wherein the Sonne ſubſiſts eternall with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt with both.

The Father in reſpect of his owne Sonne, and of us his adopted Sonnes. *Nomen pietatis, & poteſtatis eſt*, a Name of piety it, and of power, ſaith *Tertullian*. Of piety to love, and of power to beget a Sonne, and ſuch a Sonne through whom we

Tertul. de orat. c. 2.

we might be called the children of the Higheſt. The Father therefore of the Sonne of God we mind: *Ad gloriam Dei patris ſui*, to the glory of God his Father it is, ſo the Syriak. Not that the Sonne and Holy Ghoſt have not the glory. For with the Father the Sonne is glorified, and the Holy Ghoſt. Becauſe they three, ἓν εἰσι, are one, 1 *John* 5. 7. One in ſubſtance, and in dignity one. Beleeve this, and the reſt will follow. Beleeve, πολλὰ γὰρ ὧν περὶ θεοῦ νοοῦμεν, οὐ φράσαι δυνάμεθα, for we are not able to ſpeake many things we underſtand of God; and we ſpeake many things which we are not fit to underſtand, ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtome*. *Chryſoſt. in Heb. c. 1 ſer. 2.*

This reaſon you firſt have, and καὶ τὸ ἄπορον it, why the Father is onely expreſſed, when the other may not be excluded. The Father is, μείζων, the greater, διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς γέννησιν, in reſpect of the generation, ſo *Athanaſius*. As the cauſe, ſaid *Ignatius* before him, and *Gregory Nazianzen* after. *Athanaſ. cont. Arr. orat. 2. Ignat. in epiſt. ad Phipp. Greg. Nazi. in orat. 2. de filio.*

A ſecond is, to ſhew that the Sonne is honoured as the Father, and the Father not honoured without the Sonne. The worſhip of the one and the other, both one. For we here ſee, ὅταν ὁ υἱὸς δοξάζηται, καὶ πατὴρ δοξάζεται, the Father glorified, when the Sonne is glorified. As Saint *Chryſtoſtome*. Confeſſing the Sonne we acknowledge the Father: the one cannot be without the other. And the ſubſtance of both being one, one cannot be honoured, and not another. Animadvert we our Saviours words, *John* 5. 22, 23. All judgement is given to the Sonne, that all men ſhould honour the Sonne, καθὼς, as they honour the Father: Is it not manifeſt there, that the Sonne is the Perſon, *in quo coli vult Pater*, as *Beza* noteth, in whom the Father will be worſhipped? Why elſe is all judgement given him? And why elſe may not the Father be honoured without the Sonne? Yea, the conjunction, καθὼς, *as*, doth teach not onely an equall worſhip of the Father and the Sonne, but alſo that the worſhip of the Father muſt be exhibited in, and through the Sonne. Beleeving in, and adoring him, we beleeve in and adore the Father. *Chryſoſt. in loc.* *Bez. in loh. 5. 23.*

It is Chriſts doctrine: He that beleeveth in, and ſeeth me, beleeveth in, and ſeeth him, that ſent me, *John* 12. 44, 45. And this is, τὸ ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ, the worke of God, that we beleeve in him

whom he ſent, *John* 6.29 If Gods worke, and Chriſts doctrine, then beleeving in Chriſt, τὸ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦν ἐπιτελοῦμεν, we make perfect the will of God, ſaith *Cyrillus Alexandrinus*. It may be illuſtrated thus: The Agent is not without the Object, nor the Act without both: in the Object then we ſee the Agent, and of both the Act: without it we can doe neither. The Father is not without the Sonne, nor the Holy Ghoſt without both: the Sonne then being the Character of the Father, we behold the Father in the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoſt too: becauſe he proceedeth from them both. But without the Son we can doe neither the one, nor the other. He is the Word incarnate, God manifeſted in the fleſh, that we in, and through him may be directed unto the true apprehenſion of the three ſubſiſtences in one ſubſtance. Who therefore doth honour the firſt, or the third without, or not in the ſecond Perſon, doth neither honour the Father, nor the Sonne, nor the Holy Ghoſt. This is the cauſe why our Saviour would by no meanes permit any thing to be asked of the Father, but in his Name, *John* 16.23,24. And this it, that made the perſecuted ſo reſolute, *Dicimus & palàm dicimus, Deum colimus per Chriſtum*, we ſay, and we ſay it openly, and aloud to you tormentours, We worſhip God through Chriſt, as *Tertullian* hath recorded. *Aſcendit ad ſummum Deum is, &c.* he aſcends to the high God, who worſhips him inſeparably, and indiviſibly through Jeſus the Sonne of God, *Cujus ſolius ductu pervenitur ad patrem*, by whom alone we goe unto the Father; ſo *Origen. Ipſe oculus noſter, ut per illum videamus Patrem*, he is our eye, that by him we may ſee the Father; *ipſe vox*, he that voyce, by which we may ſpeake to the Father; *ipſe dextera*, he the right hand, by which we may offer our Sacrifice to God the Father; ſo Saint *Ambroſe*. And Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, Prayer not made through Chriſt doth not onely not blot out ſinne, *ſed etiam ipſa fit in peccatum*, but alſo becomes ſinne. Being in the harmony of the true Church keepe we ever there. If the Aſſe will feede on Thiſtles let him: to whom the Hony-combe is not denied, we will not change our fare.

Cyril. Alex. in lib. Reli. Rec. Symbolo. 6.29

Tertul. in Apol. adverſ. Gent. c. 21.

Orig. cont. Celſ. l. 8. c. 1.

Ambroſ. de Iſaac & ani. c. 8.

Aug. in Pſal. 108

Who ſay that in bowing at the Name of Jeſus, and by the open confeſſion of the tongue we worſhip him with other worſhip, then the Father, or preferre him before the Father, may as

as well say, we worship, *aliud*, we know not what, and not, *alium*, another, who is still the same with the Father.

One is as false as the other, and both as that which contradicts the truth. For we never divide the three persons in our worship of any one; who doe are Idolaters. We honour one, and all; all in the Trinity, or none. Powing then at the Name unto the Person, through the sense of Jesus, the Father hath glory and the Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost by the Apostle commands it: if obedience be acceptable, I am sure in doing it we obey him. And if we can beleeve the Apostle, our owne eyes will tell us, that with the Sonne the Father is thereby glorified. For the bowing to, and the confessing of Jesus injoyned by the Spirit are both expressed, to the glory of God the Father. The Sonne admits of no glory, which shall impaire his Fathers in the least degree. And ever be it our glory to give him all his due. *Tibi, Domine, tibi gloria tua maneat illibata.* *Bernard. sup. cant. serm. 13.*

The *Arrians*, and all other Heresiarchs, that oppose the Deity of Christ; The *Agnoits*, that charge Christ with ignorance; The *Manichees*, *Selucians*, *Hermians*, *Chrisiolits*, that deny him, as man, to be glorified in Heaven; The *Cerinthians*, *Chiliasts*, *Nepotians*, that affirme our happinesse shall be in the fruition of carnalities; The *Eutychians*, *Jacobits*, that say the humane nature is consumed by the Divine; The *Nestorians*, *Servetans*, *Vbiquitaries*, that averre the manhood is turned into the Godhead; And the *Macedonians*, *Messalians*, *Priscillianists*, that hold it no dishonour unto the Majesty of God to renounce the faith, and profession of Christ, are condemned at εἰς δόξαν. For there Christ, ever equall with the Father, as God, is as man so glorified by the Deity in his Person, that the beatificall vision of him shall be our eternall and inconceiveable happinesse. And though he be so full of Divine excellencies, yet our nature in him remaines intire, that who now confesse him Lord may through it be enabled to behold his glory hereafter. The *Saturnians*, *Basilidians*, *Cerdonians*, that frame to themselves two Gods, one of the Jewes contrary to the other of the Christians; The *Simonians*, that stile *Simon Magus* the true God; The *Carpocratians*, *Marcits*, *Severians*, *Menandrians*, that repelling Christ, as too infirme, honour their familiar Devils, as the authours and governours of all things; The *Gnosticks*, that privately and publikely maintaine

taine the worshipping of Idols, as necessary; The *Collyridians*, *Angelikes*, *Montanists*, *Armenii*, that either attribute Divine honour to the Virgin, or to the Angels, or to the Image of Christ, or to his Crosse; And the Papists, that, to the former foure idolatries, adde the worshipping of Saints in, or by their Pictures, are condemned at θεὸς. For there one and the same God, the God of the Jewes and the Gentiles, infinite in all that he is, wonderfull in all his wayes, the sole former, orderer, and controller of all things above and below, will not permit the Name thereof to any other. The highest he, and therefore the highest glory must be his onely. The *Ptolemæans*, *Colarbasians*, *Praxeans*, *Noetians*, *Sabellians*, *Patripassians*, that confound the Persons in the Trinity; The *Metangismonits*, that will have the Sonne contained in the Father, as the lesser vessell in the greater; The *Tritheits*, *Triformits*, *Tetratheits*, that make the three Persons three parts of God, and every Person imperfect of himselfe; The *Roman* Pontificiaries, that run to the blessed Virgin, Saints, Angels, as mediatours to the Father; And our *Socinian-Separatists*, *Puritans*, *Brovnists*, &c. that thinke the bowing of the Knee at the Name of Jesus, and open confession of him a disparagement rather, then glory to the Father, are condemned at πατὴρ. For there, the Father onely expressed, as first in order, in him the three subsistences are included. Not confounded in the manner of being are truly distinct not distinguished in substance. One and the same the three, and, thence it is that naming but one, wee give equall glory unto all. This and all we maintaine from διὰ χ, and still the argument is the union and our salvation.

True Christians we, looking unto Jesus exalted, behold him, in his triumphall Charet, sweete, and delectable. Our faith shewes us that he is girt with strength, clothed with beauty; His understanding hath no measure, nor his goodnesse end: comlinesse carrieth the Mace before him, and at his right hand are pleasures for evermore. All increated perfection we acknowledge his by nature, as the Sonne of God, and his by personall union, as the Sonne of man. Not that whatsoever, he, as the Sonne of God, hath in himselfe, is by reall participation communicated to his humane nature. We cannot say so, and in our thoughts preserve the person of God and man in his essentials. Yet such manant superexcellencies we consider in his flesh,

flesh, as may fulfill our blessednesse. So we doe; and exult that Jesus is the Lord in whom onely Gods glory is concluded. For of him God hath glory before time, glory in time, glory beyond time. Glory in filiation, glory in election; glory in creation, glory in redemption; glory in the Old Testament, glory in the New; glory in salvation, glory in damnation for ever and ever. The glory, above which no glory, is Christs. The blessed Virgin, Saints, and Angels, enjoy the peace of it; but no man, save he that is God, may challenge it. He may; for being one with the Father, and the Holy Ghost; neither the Father nor the Holy Ghost can deprive him. Where there are all, and all three one, the glory cannot be to one, and not full to every one. For the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost being but one God, the manner of their being, the second of the first, and the third from both, doth not separate one and another. It is Essence and Essence, not subsistence and subsistence, that overthrowes Unity in Trinity. Nor may we inferre that the Sonne and Holy Ghost are not, or be lesse advanced here then the Father; Because he is expressed, and not the other. No such conclusion: our sense apprehends it otherwise: The Sonne hath his manner of existing of the Father, and the Holy Ghost from both. This glory therefore is ascribed to the Father as the Fountaine, which in absolute consideration doth alike pertaine to the other persons. When the Father is mentioned, we in minde conceive the other persons also. For no man knowes the Father, but by the Sonne, nor any man the Sonne, but by the Holy Ghost. Confessing then the Sonne we confesse all, and the Father having the glory of our confession the other have it also. The Father hath it to himselfe, the Sonne in the Father, and the holy Ghost in them both.

We can now tell what compasseth the text, and goeth all over it. The first word we have brought through all unto the last, and carried the last clause unto the first. The true pointing makes it cleare, and sets forth the exaltation, by God of the Person and Name, and of the Name and Person by us, in these particulars. First, wherefore, that is, for the union, and for our Salvation God hath highly exalted him in, and to the glory of God the Father. Secondly, for the union, and for our 1. 2.

salvation he gave him a Name above every Name in, and to the glory of God the Father. There God hath done his part, next is our. First, that for the Union, and for our salvation every
1. knee of things In Heaven, in Earth, and under the Earth should bow at the Name of Jesus in, and to the glory of God the Fa-
2. ther. Secondly, that for the Union also & for our salvation every tongue should confesse that Jesus Christ is Lord in, and to the glory of God the Father. What the Holy Ghost hath thus by the Apostle put together shall by us be kept firme. We, by the helpe of God, will extoll the super-exalted Name and Person with knee and tongue in faith and hope, humbly confessing that Jesus Christ is Lord in and to the glory of God the Father.

Tract. X.

Hebr. AT διὸ ver. if you remember, I referr'd something that may not be forgotten now. It was onely mentioned there, and this it. Christs humility was propounded as an example, that we might know how, and by whom to obtaine glory.

First, how? By humility: For the same minde must be in us, that was in Christ Jesus, *v.*5.

Secondly, of whom? Of Jesus Christ: For he is the Lord of glory, *v.* 9.10,11.

He is the example; humility our worke; and glory the reward.

1. He and he onely: ἐπὶ οὐδὲν ὄφελος σωτήρ, because there is no profit, saith Saint *Chrysostome*, in living to the glory of another. *Chrysost. in loc.* Indeed others may move our emulation, *imitandi imitatores Christi*, but Christ should still be seene in them, 1 *Cor.* 11. 1. Saint *Peter* therefore, 1 *Epist.* 2. 21. saith, that Christ hath left himselfe, ἡμῖν ὑπογραμμὸν, an example to us that we may doe after his forme. None may deprive him of that honour: for it was one of the principall causes of his incarnation, that we which would be as Gods, *Gen.* 3. 5. might be conformed unto the *Image* of the Sonne of God, *Rom.* 8. 29. He onely found out that way, and would

would no other way turne the ה, or note of ironie, *Gen.* 3. 22. into an *ecce* of excellency.

But how are we conformed? By imitating him. Not that God juſtifieth us for this imitation, but being juſtified freely by his grace, we by ſuch imitation ſhew our free juſtification in Chriſt. For who abide in, walke after him, 1 *John* 2.6. No feare of *Socinianiſme* here. If ſinne be ours by propagation, and righteouſneſſe by imputation, we have neither the one nor the other by imitation. This granted, the propoſition is very true. Wee ought to imitate Chriſt wherein we may, and the more we doe, the more we are ſanctified through him. For though the righteouſneſſe of juſtification be not inherent in us, yet the righteouſneſſe of ſanctification is, and is more and more by good workes. The other is perfect at once, this by degrees: That produceth, and the particulars of this be the proceeds.

Who are aſſured of the firſt, ever looke after the ſecond, and that way, wherein they never ſhall miſcarry. Chriſt is *Janua*, *John* 10. no other it, and *Via* too, *John* 14. To enter and walke is, *imitari viam*, to imitate him, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*. Who will goe right muſt inſpect Jeſus, *Heb.* 12. 2. They that aime to be Artiſts, ought to heed their Maſters. So we taking in certaine rules, διὰ τῶν ὁρισμῶν, at the optick ſenſe, ὁρισθῶμεν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ τῷ νῷ, imprint the Art in the minde, ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtome*. *Aug. in Pſal. 90.* *Chryſoſt. in Heb. 12. v. 2. ſerm. 28*

And though Chriſt be now in Heaven, yet his Goſpel is with us. Therein are, τύποι καὶ ἀρχέτυπα, formes, and chiefe ones of inſtitution. To be followed *cum alacritate*, ſaith *Theophylact*, though not equalled by our practiſe. What were for us conſigned, we ought to have recourſe to them. Nor is there any thing not of ſpeciall uſe. *Omnis Chriſti actio eſt noſtra inſtructio*, every action of Christ is our inſtruction. *Theophyl. in Iob. 13. v. 15.*

I ſay not that all things as Chriſt hath done, we muſt ſo doe; 1.
for ſome things he performed, *quâ Deus*, as God; In theſe we cannot, nor are we bound to imitate him.

Some things he did, *quâ Mediator*, as a Mediatour of God and man; In theſe we are no farther tied, then as he finiſhed all things belonging to his vocation, ſo ſhould we be faithfull in ours. 2.

Other things he did, *quâ homo factus ſub lege*, as man ſub- 3.

ject to the Law: In these we ought to follow him; and though we cannot exactly, yet in a conformity we must. If we acknowledge our dissimilitude, deplore our negligence, and expresse our desire, *voluntas pro facto reputatur*, the deed shall be reputed as the will, yea the will accepted for the deed.

In what Christ did as God we worship him religiously, and follow him zealously in what he did as man. Who loves and hates what Christ as God doth love and hate, imitates Christ as much as a man may imitate God: And he that doth that, which Christ did as man, doth follow Christ as a Christian should. I will conclude this in Saint *Augustines* words. *Imitatores magistri debent esse discipuli, non in faciendis miraculis, quæ nemo exigit, sed in custodiendâ humilitate & patientia, ad quæ nos Dominus invitavit suo exemplo*, the Disciples ought to be imitatours of their Master, not in doing miracles, which are not required, but in preserving humility and patience, whereto the Lord invites us by his example.

Aug. Serm. decer. 118.

2. Humility is our lesson, *Discite à me*, learne it of me, *Matth.* 11. 29. Christ our president, *Exemplum dedi vobis*; It is commended to us in himselfe, *John* 13. 15. and he made it a Law, *Abneget seipsum*, who will goe after him must obey it, *Matth.* 16. 24. Wherein his love exceeded thereto he holds us strictly. And the more, because such humiliation is most contrary to the flesh. For pride which gave man his fall must be ejected before he can rise. The Apostle therefore weighing this prosecutes us with the highest argument. If the Sonne of God made himselfe of no reputation in our nature humbling himselfe unto the most reproachfull death for us, will not the sonnes of men be humble before him? Whom this cannot move, they may be called Christians not having part in Christ.

Humility was the signe, thet the Angels gave at his comming into the world, and must be our token to the world, that we are going unto him. For who are taken up with divine greatnesse, renounce themselves in the expectation of better supply from God. Not in words onely, or in outward worship, or bodily gesture, or manifest workes, but, *in sensu animi*, according to the meaning of the Apostle, verse 5. in the very affections of the heart also. *Puro cordis affectu exprimatur*, saith Saint *Hierome*,

Hierome, in the outward and inward, in both together. Not in one and not in another, but being alwayes right in the interiour, will never be faiſe, or faile in any of the exteriour. To God in the firſt place, to our Superiours in the next, and to all ſorts in preferring, and bearing with, one another. For ſo Chriſt taught, and in his obedience fulfilled righteouſneſſe, *Mat.* 5. It was his way in, nor is there other for any unto, the truth. *Eſt prima humilitas, ſecunda humilitas, tertia humilitas, & quoties interrogares, hoc dicerem*; *Demoſthenes* could finde no principle more ſpeciall in eloquence then pronunciation, nor Saint *Auguſtine* to *Dioſcorus* a more principall vertue then humility for a Chriſtian. It is the firſt, the ſecond, the third, and as often as thou wouldeſt aske, I would anſwer nothing elſe, ſaith he. *Hier. ad Celan.* *Aug. in Epiſt. 56*

Not as if there were no other precepts; but unleſſe humility goe before, accompany, and follow; unleſſe we behold it propoſed, adhere to it appoſed, and be ordered by it impoſed, we can exult of no good; *Totum extorquet de manu ſuperbia*, pride wreſteth all out of our hands. Who then will be throughly furniſhed muſt be humble all over, and alwayes. For the firſt precept being finiſhed thereby, the laſt may not be conſummate without it. *Quiſquis cupit divinitatis tenere faſtigia, humilitatis ima ſectetur*, who would be built up to that perfection ſhould lay a deepe foundation, ſaith Saint *Ambroſe*. The lower we ſinke our ſelves, the nearer God comes to us, *Pſal.* 33. 19. and *Prov.* 11. 2. *Cum humilibus ſapientia*, his wiſdome is with the humble: and his greateſt bleſſing too. For theirs is, *regnum cælorum*, the Kingdome of Heaven, *Matth.* 5. 3. *Tanto quiſque pretioſior Deo, quanto propter eum vilior ſibi*, the more vile for God to our ſelves, the more precious we to him, ſaid *Gregory*. The examples of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, and Fathers of the Church might here be ſet forth to inflect our minds: but ſaying that in it our Saviour brought to paſſe the worke of our redemption, have I not ſaid all that may extraordinarily commend it unto us? This all the faithfull beheld, and admiring it in him love it in themſelves for him, and for the workes ſake. *Ambroſ. in ſerm.* *Greg. 28. l. Mor.*

Nor entertaining it in this manner doe we turne any thing that is good out of our ſelves. For Chriſt loſt nothing there-

by, but gained the more for us, and we therein reape his gaines. *Humilibus dat gratiam*, God gives his grace unto the lowly, *Prov.* 4. 34. *James* 4. 6. 1 *Pet.* 5. 5. We then by it repressing innate evill are established in goodnesse.

Bern. de consid. l. 5. First, sure in our foundation, for it is *virtutum bonum quoddam & stabile fundamentum*, the good and firme ground of vertues, saith Saint *Bernard*.

Ad Hen. Senonens Epist. 42. Secondly, right in our building; for *servatas acceptas, servatas consummat*, keeping, saith he, the vertues we receive, it perfects them received. The Lord respecting us therefore, *Isa.* 66. 2. manifests his power, when we acknowledge our infirmities, 2 *Cor.* 12. 9.

And in this respect humility may be accounted, *propugnaculum nostrum*, our Tower, and fortresse against the many insults of vice. It goes with us throughout the Kingdome of grace, and departs not from us, when we are exalted into glory.

So stout it, that it yeelds to no attempt either of presumption or of despaire. Death it selfe frightens not; it went undaunted thither, even with an *usque ad*, unto the death of the Crosse, *vers.* 7.

Exod. 15. 25. Like the tree that *Moses* cast into the waters of *Mara*, it maketh the most bitter sweete. And where the waters are deepe it is as *Moses* Rod, or *Elishs* Cloak, smiting them with it, they divide, and we walke on dry land. To gaine the Crowne set before it the sharpest things seeme pleasant.

So sublime it, that it gives no place to honours. It addes glory unto Kings on earth; and it is the glory of the Saints in Heaven to cast downe themselves before the Throne of God, *Rev.* 5. & 7.

So strong, so sublime, who will not indue it? Nay who will not are sure to be confounded. For God resisteth the proud, 1 *Pet.* 5. 5. Pride goeth before sorrow, and the puffing up of the minde is unto ruine, *Prov.* 16. 18. We must be very cautelous then lest this vice get into our humility. *In recte factis cavenda est*

Aug. Epist. 56. *superbia*, pride is too often clothed therewith. Our Saviour took the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* in it, *Matth.* 6. 16. Saint *Paul* reproved the *Colossians* in that habit; and, I much feare, these times are sore troubled with haughty spirits in an humble hue. Shew me the submission of our great Professours in humility, and I will confesse my errour.

But

But Saint *Chryſoſtome* tells us that, when in pretext of Gods worſhip our doings are not faine, τότε μάλιστα ὑβρίζομεν αὐτὸν, then eſpecially we upbraid him. And if we doe, is not his judgement at hand? *Deriſores ipſe deridet*, he laughs us to ſcorne, *Prov.* 3. 34. *Domum evellet*, he will lay us waſte, *Prov.* 15. 25. Not farre off, even under this Crowne, *non hoſpes ab hoſpite tutus*; and in this Kingdome where is truth, love, honeſty? *Achitophels* treachery, *Rabſhakes* railing, *Jezabels* adultery, *Eſaus* hate, *Ammons* deceit, *Nebuchadnezzars* pride, *Dives* unmercifulneſſe, and all manner of impieties couch under the feare of the Lord. Shall the Lord ſee, and not be avenged? Repent, repent; God is angry, and the vials of his wrath ready to be poured out. Turne we therefore, and without delay, with humble, with contrite hearts, and he will returne with a bleſſing unto us. *Sion* ſhall have her proſperity here, and her full glory hereafter. *Chryſoſt. in loc.*

But if not for the worke, for the rewards ſake be we humble. 3.
Wee have heard what followed Chriſts obedience, and who keepe with him in his way ſhall come to him in his glory. For the glory ſet before him he deſpiſed the ſhame, *Heb.* 12. 2. for the glory therefore he purchaſed to us be not we aſhamed of the price he paid. God choſe the ignoble things, καὶ ἐξουθενημένα, and the moſt contemptible in the world for his purpoſe, 1 *Cor.* 1. 28. ἐκένωσεν, *verſ.* 6. *exhauſit*, as *Tertullian*, he drew out himſelfe in his undertakings; or as *Beza*, *ex omni ſeipſum in nihil redegit*, he brought himſelfe from all to nothing, *Dan.* 9. 26. On the loweſt baſis he built the higheſt glory. δοῦλος ἐγένετο, διὰ τῦτο κύριος τῶν πάντων, he was made a ſervant, for this he is Lord of all, ſo Saint *Chryſoſtome*. *Magnus eſſe vis? à minimo incipe*, who will be great muſt beginne at the leaſt, ſo Saint *Auguſtine*. Beginne there, and upon our Saviours word yee ſhall be exalted, *Luke* 18. 14. Yee ſhall, ſo ſaith Saint *James* 4. 10. and Saint *Peter* too, 1 *Epiſt.* 5. 6. *Text. adv. Mar. l.* 5. *c.* 20. *Chryſoſt. ibid. Aug. de verb. Domini ſer.* 10.

Is it not then as Saint *Paul* here ſaith, *verſ.* 5. τὸ φρονεῖν, a wiſe minde to be ſo minded? It was wiſdome in Chriſt, and why ſhould it be fooliſhneſſe with us? We lay downe temporall things, and take up everlaſting. What compariſon is there betweene a drop and an Ocean; a point and the world; a moment and eternity? The whole treaſure, and pompe of the world

is

is nothing to that immenſe waight of glory, which followeth our Chriſtian contempt of earthly things. While we looking on the things, which are not ſeene, the momentany lightneſſe of our tribulation prepareth unto us a reward, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν, beyond the reach of our apprehenſion, 2 *Cor.* 4. 17. *Quid dicam neſcio: ſed Deus habet, quod exhibeat*, I know not what to ſay of it; but God hath what he can give, and what he will give, *erit ipſe*, ſhall be himſelfe. For what elſe is it for him to be our God, and we his people? He could promiſe nothing better, nothing greater, life, ſalvation, glory, peace, all excellencies, he will be all in all. He will; and therefore ſure we that our meaſure ſhall be filled up with his goods. What they are none can conceive, ſave who receive them. Nor they comprehend, becauſe the object of happineſſe is infinite. Indeed what is created for us will be according to the receivers. Finite it, and therefore not the ſatisfying ſave in the object. It is not the chiefe good, but enables us to contemplate in Chriſt after our meaſure the *Summum bonum*, which God himſelfe is. This is it, for it is God that doth ever ſatiate, and never cloy.

Auguſt. de civit. Dei l. 22 c. 30.

And though I have called this the reward of our humility, yet it may not be ſaid that our humility merits this. No, it was purchaſed for us by the humiliation of Jeſus. In whom we have it, without him we challenge nothing. Hoping therefore to be glorified with him in Heaven, to him we conforme on earth. And becauſe he hath taught no other way to the inheritance, then he went in the purchaſe, we ſeeke no other, nor can we thinke there might be any other more glorious. For in it we never doe, ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtome*, καταίχεσθαι, ἀπὸ τῆ ἀξιώματος, deſcend from glory. The loweſt degree is ever an aſcent unto the higheſt. Ὁ ὑψηλὸς ταπεινός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ ταπεινὸς ὑψηλός, the high is low, the low high: this ἀπόφασις, is made good in the contradiction, that Chriſt indured againſt himſelfe, *Heb.* 12. 2, 3. And when we ſee his humble members deſpiſing the world, yet deſpiſing no man; contemning themſelves, and yet contemning that contempt, which perſecutes them, doe we not behold the minde exalted above all things below? Yea when we finde pride it ſelfe palliated with humility, know we not that the proud confeſſe there is glory both in, and for the vertue.

Ibid.

How

How in ſeeming not miſtaken is the world miſtaken much? men thinke humility and glory oppoſits; as if of both in one could be no ſubſiſtence. It is pride that refuſing the one may never come at the other. *Quiſquis enim nunc ſponte ſe non humiliat, nequaquam hunc ſequens gloria exaltat*, for who doth not here willingly, and truly humiliate himſelfe, following glory never exalts him, ſaith *Gregory*. *Greg. l. 8. Moral.*

My cloſe is: for Chriſt, for the vertue, for the glories ſake learne we the Apoſtles counſell. Keepe we our eyes fixed on the example of Jeſus, and in proceeding the nearer we come to our place, like naturall bodies, we ſhall move with the more celerity. Our humility will carry us, and with ſpeed enough, unto the ſame journies end it brought him. Who drawes us in the way, *Cant.* 1. 4. will crowne us in the end, *Rev.* 2. 10. Doing what he commands, we ſhall receive what he obtained, life eternall in and to the glory of God the Father.

The *Samoſatenians*, and *Socinians*, that hold Chriſts death neither ſatisfactory, nor meritorious, but onely exemplary for us; The Jewes, Turkes, Pagans, Infidels, to whom Chriſt is a ſcorne, and his Croſſe an offence; The Atheiſts, Nullifidians, Prophane, that in diriſion of Gods Religion, call his Church Satans Synagogue, the Communion *Bacchus* Sacrifice, and his profeſſours *Solifidians*; The Libertines of our age that count us fooles for our Auſterity; The careleſſe Profeſſours that deeme us over pitifull to others, too bitter to our ſelves; Our Church *Michals*, *Cathariſts*, *Browniſts*, *Separatiſts*, that deride us for our humiliation in the ſervice of God; The *Anabaptiſts*, *Monks*, *Hypocrites*, that will be humble without ſubmiſſion, poore without want, and rich without labour; The *Sadduces*, *Simonians*, *Saturnians*, *&c.* that hoping there is no puniſhment after this life for the bad, will have no reward for the good; The *Cerinthians*, *Pepuzians*, *Mahumetans*, that place happineſſe in the eternal fruition of fleſhly delights on earth; And the *Montaniſts*, *Enthyſiaſts*, *Papiſts*, that in the argument of the glory put the merit on themſelves, are condemned by the Apoſtles counſell in the ſixth verſe, and his inference, at the ninth verſe. For there, the fabrick of glory, that Chriſt built up for us, being founded on his merits in ſuch humiliation, we are taught to ſhew our gaines by

following his example. Whose redeemed we are, his humble servants we. If glory be the reward, we have no cause to stand upon the worke. Be it in what degree he please, we need not be abashed at the humility. For who was the lowest on earth we are sure our Saviour is the highest exalted in Heaven. When we have done our part God will give us our right in him. This and all we maintaine from διὰ χ̄ν̄, and still the argument is the Union and our salvation.

True Christians we, finding how hard we are beset with, and prone to evill, looke alwayes on our Captaine, and attend his word for feare we should mistake his discipline. We know how great a Conquerour he is, and that he can never faile in his direction; if our actions vary from, we have not well minded him. And though he be taken out of our sight, his life is left with us, and reading it we have instruction store and sure. Sure, if we follow it close, right, & be alwayes sure to it. Nor is it infallible in one and not in all. Whereof he hath given plenty, there is no doubt of any one. Nor is the number of his precepts either large beyond our memory, or short to leave out any thing, that might further us. The example he hath given is most absolute. It demonstrates all things that are to be contemned, and sustained *all*. In them is no felicity to be had, in these no unhappinesse to be feared. He bids us come and see, and we most ambitious to enjoy, what here we beleeve, will goe no other way, then himselfe went, and appointed for us. A low way, Christ humble; a perfect way, Christ the truth; and a comfortable way, Christ the life. Having truth we are sure to have cheere in, and life by our humility. It is not the similitude thereof, but the vertue we meane. That is it, and nothing being more acceptable to God, we doe in nothing more, nor in any thing without it, expect a blessing. For nothing in us doth more exalt God, and our innate evill is represt by nothing more. All the *Lords* commands are observed with it, and the vertue which springs not from that roote withers. Indeed love makes up all breaches, but we have no other meanes to repaire charity save humility. In whom all was made up, all was done in humility, and who partake of all, we, like him, will be humble to all. To God in the lowest degree; to his Vice-gerent next; we have no envie for our Superiours,

periours, nor hatred to our equals, nor contempt toward our inferiours. Love for God, and ſuch, as will permit nothing before him, not our ſubſtance, not our lives. And love for our neighbour, and ſuch, as will pray for every one, and forgive every offence. The true knowledge of our ſuperexalted Head raiſeth our converſation unto Heaven whileſt we live on earth. And well may: For we behold the eternall glory prepared for the meeke incomprehenſible in the object. The faith whereof hath made our appetites ſo eager, that they can leave the greateſt allectives of the world with contempt. Whoſe ſervants we are to him faithfull we may challenge of him our inheritance, who purchaſed it for us. And with boldneſſe, ſeeing in humility, and according to his preſcription we leave all to profeſſe him our high exalted Lord in, and to the glory of God the Father. To whom with the Sonne and the Holy Ghoſt be the Kingdome, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen, Amen.

ERRATA.

14

A FAITHFVLL and seasonable Advice,

OR,

The necessity of a Correspondencie for the advancement of the Protestant Cause.

Humbly suggested to the great Councell of England assembled in Parliament.

Ex Dono Authoris S. Hartlib

fol: G. Printed by John Hammond 1643.

642

The necessity of a Correspondencie for the advancement of the Protestant Cause.

THE troubles of Europe proceed originally from two causes: the one is the affectation of a Spirituall, the other of a Temporall Monarchy. That is the Papall, this is, or hath been, the Spanish, and may be from henceforth, the French ambition. The Pope doth labour to uphold his tottering Hierarchy, and to regaine the power which hee had over the consciences of all Men, before it was cried downe as Antichristian by Protestancie. The House of Spaine did labour to erect a new State in Europe, under the pretence of upholding and propagating the Catholicke Religion against Protestants, till the French and Bavarians have pulled down his old one. These two, and their pretensions, have divided the affections of all men, either in respect of conscience, or of civill interests. Each hath his owne way, but that of the Pope is most considerable, because it is without resistance, and hath assistance of both the others, whereas each of the other pretenders to the Monarchy of State, doth oppose his Fellow. The Popes way to preserve himselfe, and to regaine the power which he had lost, is to work the overthrow of the Protestant Religion, and to trouble the States wherein that Religion is planted. To do this,

hee maketh use of two advantages which hee hath above Protestants; the one is Civill, the other Ecclesiastical. The Civill is, that he is able to set all the Popish Princes, and their chiefe Counsellors a worke, to intend joyntly the same thing against Protestants, as well in generall to oppose them, as in particular to weaken them in their esteeme and power. As for example, he hath moved them all to contribute to a league against them, to divest them every where of all dignities; and particularly to weaken their voyces in the Electorall Colledge. And to effect these and such like things, he can infuse into their counsels all the Maximes of state, which are opposite to the faith and fundamentall grounds of the liberties of Protestants in the publicke profession of their Religion, and to perswade the use of these Maximes, hee findeth out meanes to make every one apprehend hopes of advantage for himselfe by the ruine of Protestants. For he knoweth, that it is not so much zeale for Religion, as interests, which moveth States. The Ecclesiasticall advantage is the power which he hath to breed and send forth Emissaries towards the common sort of Protestants, and to set treaties on foot towards the more learned, such as are most for his owne advantage. The Emissaries are bred in his Colledges, of severall Nations, but especially in his Colledge de propaganda fide, which is founded to undermine the states of Protestants, by sowing or fomenting the seeds of division amongst them. And to this effect also, the more learned of his Clergie are imployed to treat with the learned Protestants for an agreement, which may bee catched up with some, or with all Protestants, by meere authority of Superiours, upon generall termes, and in outward superficia

cia

ciall rites, salvo iure Primatus Pontificii, *that is, with an acknowledgement of his Primacie for orders sake amongst the Clergie, which if Protestants upon any terms will but grant, he for a time will leave them to their liberties, but afterward by degrees bring them in subjection to his usurped power in all things both of Faith and Practise. Now his great advantage to work out all his plots irresistably is this, that amongst the severall Bodies of Protestants, there is none that taketh the matter of their common interest and preservation to heart, to labour to disapoint his plots by meanes opposite to his designes, therefore it is certaine, that so long as Protestants have no such aime to maintaine joyntly the common interest of Religion and Liberties, but are divided in their counsels, that in humane appearance their states must be weakned & in the end overthrowne, but if a joynt purpose could be wrought amongst them for their common safety, and a good Correspondencie setled in their Churches and States, to prosecute the meanes thereof, towards all those whom it doth concerne, there is no doubt but hee would lose his labour, and the Consent of Protestants to maintaine the light of the truth, and the liberty of the Gospel, would fully accomplish his overthrow. Now to set this Correspondencie in a joynt intention afoot amongst Protestants, none have so great cause as the state of great Britaine, and the present Parliament of England, against which all the Popish Power of* Europe *is bent to hinder by all possible meanes, the Reformation now begun in that Island, therefore it will be altogether necessary, for the said Parliament to move all other Protestants to joyne with them for the maintenance of the Protestant Cause against Popery. This cannot*

be done otherwise, but by the meanes of a good Correspondencie, which may be first begun with the State and Church of Scotland, and then joyntly with them prosecuted towards forraigne Protestants: And to this effect fit instruments should bee chosen, and made use of these should bee joyned in a Committee or standing Counsell at home, to attend the work of a publick Correspondency with forrainers, and to unite them in the prosecuting of their true interests and common quarrell against Papists. And to this end they should take the Palatine cause in hand, to make that House (whose interest and right is greatest among forraigne Protestants) considerable, and to assist it in recovering the right thereof, which it hath lost in defence of the Protestant liberties in Germany.

Now the way to make that House considerable, and by it to uphold amongst forrainers the Protestant cause, is to assist the Prince Elector first with Counsell and then with Strength. To assist him with Counsell, they should joyne to him some of their owne Counsellors, to help him to manage the worke of a publick Correspondencie with Protestants in their name; and they should furnish him with meanes of support requisite to maintaine other Counsellors and Agents fit to negotiate in his owne name, his owne cause, and to keep a foot the publicke interest with the Protestants of Germany, and neighbouring States.

To assist him with Strength, in prosecuting of this Correspondencie with forraigne States, they should make a League for him, and when the introubles should be setled, joyne with others their forces to re-establish him in his lands and dignities, to uphold in the same the Common Cause.

If this ground-work of Counsell whereof in respect of forrainers chiefly in Germany, the Prince Elector could bee made the head, be not first laid, it is sure that no Army nor treaty with Austria will ever prevaile to settle matters. But if such a Negotiation be (as it easily can bee, even in the midst of these troubles in England) set a foot, and thereby all those that have a reall interest

interest

tereſt in the welfare of Proteſtants, made to concurre Counſels with great Britaine, and the Palatine Houſe in Germany: then it is not to be doubted, but that with the ſupply of ſmall forces from England and Scotland, the Cauſe and Rights of all Proteſtants in the intereſt of that Houſe, may be gained; and the whole Papall and Spaniſh power as well in the Empire, as elſwhere, irreſiſtably overthrowne. Perhaps the Auſtrian power in Germany may be moved to bend their Counſels for the true Palatine Elector againſt the Bavarian and French Deſigne, to keep up a Proteſtant party, that in ballancing the one by the other, it may ſtand. But as for the French, it is certain, that they in all things, and chiefly in zeale for the Papall interẽſts, doth emulate the Spaniſh power, and is no leſſe active; and as now matters are brought about, more powerfull to advance the ſame, then Spain is: and therefore in the aime of a Common Correſpondencie amongſt Proteſtants, muſt be as much looked into, or more, then any other State.

FINIS.

1715.

THE COPY OF 15

A LETTER VVRITTEN TO

Mr. ALEXANDER HINDERSON.

by mr Hartlib

feb: first 1642

LONDON,

Printed in the Yeare, 1643.

Reverend and loving Brother in Christ;

I Hope my two former Letters were safely delivered, wherein I gave you notice of a purpose taken in hand here, to make Notes upon the Bible; what concurrence you think fit to give in such a work, I leave to your owne piety to determine. Now I have some other thoughts to impart unto you, which lye as a burthen on my heart; nor can I be at rest till I discharge them in some bodies bosome; nor know I any more fit then your selfe, to whom I may confide them, for I trust that you will make them harmlesse to me, and as profitable as you can to the Publique, according to the occasions which God at this time doth put into your hand, which may be of great consequence hereafter if rightly managed.

I am then very desirous to let you know my thoughts concerning the *Palatine* Cause, which I heare is laid to heart amongst you; whereat as I am glad, so I will not cease to pray that God would direct your hearts to doe something in it as it ought to be done. But to conceive what may be done in it, and how that which may be done ought to be done, so as we may be sure that God will give a blessing to it, is a thing whereof I am not a little sollicitous, since I have heard of the inclinations both here and there, where you are tending towards some reall undertakings for his Highnesse: You know that the right ayme in framing of Councels, is of very great, if not of greatest importance: For it is like the Axell tree, whereupon the meanes like a wheele, runne about to carry it to an Issue: If this ayme be not as it should be setled in the minds of the Undertakers for the *Palatine* Cause, I can have little hopes of a blessing upon the enterprise, whatsoever it be; nor can I be perswaded, that fit meanes to help the cause will be made use of: and would to God not onely they that are willing to undertake for the House Palatine; but that the House it selfe, and the Counsellors which are about it did not understand onely, but also affect truly the end, which they should have in prosecuting their owne Cause. The sweet natured Prince Elector is of very good capacity and judgement, and as most young men, and of a sanguine complexion, are flexible and easily led; so might he be brought into better apprehensions of matters, then as yet he seemeth to have, if the Counsellors that are about him, were so sensible of the best things belonging to the *Palatine* Cause, as

Men in that place ſhould be: but that they are not truly ſenſible of their true ayme, it appeareth to me in ſome things, at which I can but grieve. I ſpeake this with due reſpect unto them, and in love to the Cauſe, which they do manage about his Highneſſe. And I pray unto God heartily that in ſuing for the meanes of their Reſtitution, they may walke more entirely with God, (*and in all his wayes, then they have done many of them hitherto*;) that they may be fit to looke up directly unto him, and not ſo much unto the arme of fleſh, as States men commonly do; and that they may be able to underſtand the Counſel of God towards their Maſter, whom he hath honoured to ſuffer hatred and perſecution for his own Cauſe: Which cauſe I feare is little regarded by moſt of them, and till they, as well as the Prince himſelfe, be truly ſenſible of it, I have little hope of any good iſſue in all their Enterpriſes, which no doubt have beene hitherto miſcarried, for want of Gods bleſſing upon the undertakings; and Gods bleſſing hath been wanting, becauſe the true end, which he requireth in ſuch a cauſe, was not intended. Leſt therefore both they and you that are willing to undertake for them, ſhould make ſhipwracke upon the ſame rock, I thinke my ſelfe bound in conſcience to give ſome warning to you, which I will leave to your prudency to inſinuate to ſuch, as can make beſt uſe thereof in time and place convenient.

Now then to let you know, what the true aim is, which ſhould be laid to heart in the *Palatine* Cauſe, I muſt tell you, what I know to be a certain truth, and can make good, if need be, with infallible evidences, concerning the Cauſe of the War in *Germany*. The true originall of this War, is known to be the quarrell of the *Bohemians* which the P. *Elector* took upon him. But this was not the firſt originall of the Warre, there were other fore-going plots laid againſt the Freedome of the Proteſtant Religion, and their Liberties in *Germany*; and eſpecially againſt the greatneſſe of the *Palatine* Houſe, then matched with our Kings daughter, which made that Houſe and the Proteſtant State, whereof it was the Head, ſo formidable unto the Pope and his Conclave, that he with the *Auſtrians*, took up a firm reſolution to ruine that Houſe, leſt by its means Proteſtancy might be ſo upheld in *Germany*, as to weare out Popery. And they had ſome cauſe to feare this, when they ſaw what encreaſe Proteſtancy did make dayly, ſo long as matters were at quiet in *Germany*, and what a Nurſe the Vniverſity of *Heildelberg* was unto it. This jealouſie then was the true cauſe of the Quarrell, which had broken forth elſewhere, if it had not been fired in *Bohemia*: For at the ſame time at

divers

divers other parts in the Empire, a Quarrell was pickt againſt the free uſe of the Proteſtant Religion, which was an intolerable eye-ſore unto the Pope, and *Auſtrian* party. Thus then it is certain, the cauſe in their contention originally, is the feare and hatred of our Religion, and no doubt it was in the P. Elector *Palatine* a pious intention, to uphold the Proteſtant Liberties in *Germany*, which were put at, and which being loſt, the Religion it ſelfe would ſuffer thereby. By this firſt originall of the Warre, we ſee the nature of the Cauſe; and from the nature of the Cauſe, we muſt take the aime in undertaking it. For if it ſhould be undertaken as it ought to be, it muſt be undertaken ſincerely for Religion, to uphold the Proteſtant Cauſe in *Germany*; and then meanes anſwerable to this aime, will be thought upon, and may be found out, if we will but conſider what the Meanes are by which the Enemies of the Cauſe have all this while prevailed againſt it; and what practiſes they ſtill uſe to undermine and overthrow it wholly. For if we can take away the advantages, which have made them hitherto prevaile, and prevent their future deſignes, no doubt our undertakings will not bee without effect.

It is moſt certain that hitherto their greateſt advantages have beene herein, that as they were alwayes united amongſt themſelves, and ſtood cloſe to one main purpoſe, which is the propagation of their Religion; ſo they have been able alwayes hitherto by their practiſes and inſtruments to divide Proteſtants, and diſtract their intentions, that they ſhould never joyn in one purpoſe. Thus in *Germany* all their induſtry have beene imployed ſtill to ſeparate the Counſels of one State and Prince from another, which they were able to doe, by reaſon of their diſputes and jealouſies one againſt another about matters of Religion; and out of *Germany* they have kept the thoughts and intentions of us in Great *Britain* buſie another way, to divert us from giving aſſiſtance unto our afflicted brethren, or taking their caſe to heart, til it be almoſt paſt remedy. For verily, the Proteſtant Power in *Germany* is even gone, and there is none either ſhut up or left any more within that Country; therefore I have the greater hope for my part, that God will now repent himſelfe of his Servants, becauſe his cuſtome of old is, as the Prophet ſaith, *Eſay* 30. 17, 18. when his people is, *as the beacon on the top of a mountaine, and an enſigne on an hill*, therefore, and then chiefly to *wait that he may bee gracious unto them*; and therefore will he be exalted, that he may have mercy upon them. And this I hope he will doe in ſanctifying good Inſtruments unto his Service, and ſhewing the true way which muſt bee

followed in maintaining his Cauſe, and preventing the plots of his Adverſaries, which they have laid for times to come: whereof the depth I ſuppoſe is or may be fully diſcovered, if uſe can be made of that ſmall treaſure of obſervations new and old, which I and ſome others have made, and do make, whereof here I will give you a briefe abſtract.

Since the Conqueſt of *Bohemia*, and the tranſaction with the King of *Denmark*, and a little before the arrivall of the King of *Sweden* into *Germany*, their main intentions have been diſcovered fully, and the wayes of their plots, and the induſtry which they uſe in the ſame, can eaſily be gathered, partly from their own Hiſtoricall relations concerning the ſame, and partly from their actuall proceedings in all places, uniformally upon the ſame grounds and principles, which men of experience, and any thing verſed in affaires, cannot but take notice of. The ſumme of all is this, that ſince they gained ſo much ground againſt the Proteſtant Cauſe in *Germany*, that they thought their hopes might be brought to ſome good perfection, there they have raiſed upon that foundation ſome further Reſolutions determined in the Papall Conclave, how to deale in time to come with all other Proteſtants, to bring them back again to Rome; or elſe to divide them, and diſtract them more and more amongſt themſelves, ſo that they ſhall eaſily become a prey to Papiſts, as thoſe of *Germany* are become. This Reſolution is to make Propoſitions of Peace, and of Agreement betwixt Proteſtancy and Popery. How far this plot, and by what meanes it was advanced here in Great *Britain*, and how God hath diſappointed it, I need not to relate: And by the way of carrying things here, wiſe men can gather what negotiations are a foot elſewhere alſo, whereof I can bear ſome witneſſe in many particulars, if need were. But what danger there may be ſtill here of reviving their plots, and how that danger may be hereafter prevented, I will leave to the wiſdome of both States to conſider, beſeeching the Lord in mercy to direct them therein to his glory. And if theſe notes that I am going to ſet down can doe any good to that effect; perhaps farther particulars, if they be required, may be in this kinde made known. It is certain then that in *Germany*, in *France*, in *Polonia*, in the Low-Countries, and elſewhere, the ſame myſtery of iniquity is a foot, and with much induſtry and diligence advanced by Emiſſaries of all ſorts towards Princes, States-men, and leading Divines. I will not here name thoſe that are known unto me in all theſe parts, nor how far things, and by what waies in ſeveral parts they are diverſly caried on to the ſame ſcope, becauſe that is needleſſe at this time, a generall intimation

tion in one or two will ſuffice. It is manifeſtly known, what the Cardinall in *France* hath now this good many yeares been fomenting by *Monſieur de la Melitiere*, and ſome others, concerning a tranſaction of differences between Papiſts and Proteſtants; and now of late it breaketh forth more then ever, by that which is done at *Grenoble*, and ſome other parts in *France*, where ſome chiefe Papiſts have made overtures unto Proteſtants towards ſome agreement, upon plauſible generall Conditions, becauſe they ſeeme to be willing to yeeld unto Proteſtants in ſome things of no ſmall moment, and chiefly becauſe they abſolve them from the crimes of hereſie laid to their charge ordinarily by other Papiſts. I am alſo credibly now of late informed from a very good hand, That the Cardinall hath written to the States of *Holland*, in the name of his King, to make an overture of ſuch a tranſaction; and I am in no doubt but it may be ſo, for other circumſtances which I know; and you may conjecture that the Cardinall would not lightly venture upon ſuch a Propoſition without ſome preparatives, and hopes to effect ſomthing, &c. I know he may have ſome private ends in reconciling Proteſtants with Papiſts in *France*; I know he is an enemy to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and that he ſeems now to jarre with the Pope, for the maintaining of the Priviledges of the King over the Eccleſiaſtick Perſons in *France*; but all this doth not hinder any whit his concurrence in the maine plot of the Conclave; but rather to emulate the forwardneſſe of *Auſtria*, and not to be behind in the Counſels of furthering the plot of Religion unto any: he doth all this in ſubordination unto the Reſolution of the Conclave, which of late hath fully been diſcovered to be this, towards *Germany* and *Polonia* chiefly, and conſequently towards all other Proteſtant Churches in due time. The reſolution I ſay hath been diſcovered by the negotiation of one *Valerius Magnus*, a Frier ſent forth and appointed by the Conclave, to goe through *Germany*, and *Polonia* to diſcover, and learn what the moſt common and important grievances are, which give greateſt diſcontent unto all Proteſtants there, againſt Popery; that when they ſhall be truly and diſtinctly known, a courſe may be reſolved upon, how to yeeld unto ſome kinde of Reformation thereof, *Salvo jure & honore Pontificio*, by ſome generall Councell, which the Emperour ſhould call, with the conſent of the Princes of *Europe*; that ſo the common ſort might receive ſatisfaction. This Frier is now at this inſtant ſtill in his negotiation, ſupported to that effect, with means and aſſiſtants for correſpondency, by the Emperour, and the King of *Polonia*: The diſcovery of this plot is come to my knowledge of late, and he was moved

moved by a Providence of God himſelfe, to lay it open to one, with whom I have been heretofore acquainted, who in a Conference about the grounds of our Religion, did ſo fully in the preſence of others convict him, and ſtopped his mouth, that he became troubled in conſcience, and did not reſt till he had dealt more privately with the Divine who had overcome him, to whom he in teſtimony of his ſincerity revealed his whole plot; and by the procuration and intervention of great men and friends, hath moved the foreſaid Divine to go along with him into *Polonia*, and to *Vienna*, and as farre as *Rome*, to ſee what can be effected in this Negotiation, and further this pretended tranſaction. Much more could be related of this ſubject, but this is enough to make their intention fully known, which no doubt is this, to make a generall kinde of politick tranſaction of differences in Religion, by the power of Civill authority, with ſo many Proteſtant Princes as can privately or publiquely be gained thereunto, that if others who will not condeſcend to ſuch an agreement, be moved for conſcience ſake to beare witneſſe againſt it, they may be cruſht by Authority, and ſuppreſſed; and when the ſounder part of Proteſtants ſhall be thus taken out of the way, and not able to peep, then his authority may be fully eſtabliſhed over thoſe that ſhall re-unite unto him without contradiction.

Thus the Pope dealt at firſt with the *Huſſites* in *Bohemia*, for after a long Warre, wherein the Bohemians had wearied all their Neighbours, he ſaw that by violence they could not be brought to a conſtant and voluntary yeelding unto him, therefore he propoſed Conditions of agreements unto the greateſt part of them, which was leſſe ſound, by yeelding unto them foure or five Articles for the redreſſe of ſome grievances; and when the ſounder part would not acquieſce, they were quite oppreſſed and diſſipated; nor did they ever, after that *Thabours* was once taken, recover ſtrength or become conſiderable till the dayes of *Luther*, and theſe later times, wherein again they were the firſt ſufferers. The ſame purpoſe is now manifeſtly in hand to deale with all Proteſtant Churches, but chiefly with thoſe in *Germany* in like manner; that if the *Auſtrio-Bavarian* faction in *Germany* can either by faire or foule means bring any conſiderable party of the Proteſtant Church any where, but chiefly within *Germany* it ſelfe, to yeeld unto the plauſible Conditions which may be propoſed for the redreſſe of common grievances, then they have fully obtained their purpoſe, and will not fail to deal there ſo with the remnant of Proteſtants, as was done with the remnant of *Huſſites* in *Bohemia*. And what courſe the Emperour takes

in

in *Germany*, the ſame will be followed in *Polonia* and in *France*; ſo that except God diſappoint this plot by a wonderfull providence, as he uſed to worke in all his wayes, there is no poſſibility in humane appearance, and by humane wayes to avoid the effect of it, which will be the ſetting up againe of popery in all places where once it hath had footing.

Thus you ſee what advantages the Adverſaries of the *Palatine* Cauſe have had hitherto againſt it, and what their plot and practiſe is, to bring their Enterpriſe to perfection. I know that God uſeth to laugh the wiſdome of this world to ſcorne, and taketh the craftiy in their own deviſes, and that as heretofore alwaies from the beginning of Chriſtianity, and now of late alſo in the diſcovery of Antichriſtianity, he hath had the better of his Adverſaries, even there and then, where and when they thought themſelves to be ſtrongeſt. So he will ſtill to the end be at laſt victorious in his owne Cauſe yet, although I know I am confidently perſwaded that God will doe ſo, yet I ſay we ought not to be negligent in doing our duty: but taking the moſt likely courſe, wee ought according to our ability help him againſt the mighty, leaving the events of our endeavours to his providence. Who knoweth but that the time may be now come, wherein the Lord will riſe & work for his owne names ſake? nor is it unlikely to be ſo, if we conſider the accompliſhment of propheſies, and particularly that of *Dan.* 12.7. that when the adverſary ſhall have accompliſhed to ſcatter the power of the holy people, that then their ſufferings ſhall be at an end: now verily their power is wholly ſcattered and divided, and there is no conſiderable force either in or out of Germany, that is able to riſe up for Proteſtancy againſt Papacy; and therefore I hope it is Gods time to worke now in his owne way, and not according to humane appearance? And this very conſideration maketh me the more earneſt towards you that ſeeme willing to take his Cauſe in hand: leſt in going about it his way ſhould not be followed, without which nothing can proſper in the *Palatine* affaires. Now I conceive his way to be not a way of great ſtrength and force, but a way of ſpirituall Wiſdome and integrity, tending to advance the Kingdome of his Son, in managing the controverſiy of his Church. If then all the outward undertakings whatſoever they may be, goe not along with God in his way, and are not made ſubordinate unto this end; they will be in vaine and prove but a further ſcattering of the forces of Proteſtancy. And how they may be ſet in this way, in oppoſition to the way of thoſe that fight againſt Proteſtancy, more by craft then by ſtrength, I will tell you my opinion, that you

may judge of it, and submit it as you shall thinke fit to be judged of by others, that are wellwillers to the Cause; It is then briefly this.

First, I thinke it necessary that both his Majesty and the Prince Elector be made sensible of the dangerous consequence of the Papall plot against Protestancy.

Then the Prince Elector should be dealt withall seriously by some grave, wise and godly man, to make him lay to heart the great honour that God doth to him and to his Family in calling him to suffer for his Cause, and to beare the reproaches of them that reproach the truth of Christianity, and the hatred of those that hate the Gospell of Christ, which they persecute in his person. To know truly what an honour this is, would be a great strengthening of his spirit; and then to know also how he ought to behave himselfe in all his wayes towards God in bearing up this Cause, how that he ought not to seeke himselfe in it, but should make the upholding of Protestancy, and not the regaining of his Lands and Titles, his true inward ayme, and consequently to doe all in subordination to God, and not by humane wisdome and policy, &c. If this could be truly (as I am perswaded he is very capable of) wrought upon him, then I would not despaire of a blessing upon that which he may take in hand; He being thus wrought upon to make God his counsell and strength in all things to manage faithfully his Cause; could have some other Counsellors adjoyned to him, besides those which he now hath: Men of exemplary and entire lives, men that should strengthen him in the true ayme of his Cause, to keepe it unmoveable in his heart; men that are versed in publique Treaties about the cause, and experienced in State affaires, chiefely in the Germane Princes Courts; such a one is *N.N.* without whose judgement and experience, I conceive his businesse can hardly be well contrived in respect of Germany, and I could wish that he were maintained to be perpetually about him, for he is a very religious and knowing man, and of singular use in this worke, for the contrivance of the counsels therof toward forraine States; and besides him, one or two States men more could be named. But I leave this and will come to the undertaking of the Worke; not of the outward military supply which may be sent for him, but of the spirituall part of the worke which should tend to uphold Protestancy against Popery, not onely in Germany, but every where else: I conceive then that such as undertake to restore the House Palatine in Germany, should make the quarrell not in pretence, but in truth (as indeed it is) a matter of Religion, and so should resolve to handle

handle the Cauſe in a religious way, as well as by force. The cauſe then of maintaining the Religion and Liberties of Proteſtants in *Germany*, ought to be made a publique buſineſſe; and in all Treaties with forraine States, and deliberations about forraine Affaires, it ought to come into conſideration; and all Ambaſſadours towards other Proteſtants, ſhould be inſtructed to deale with them for a concurrence in it, and in effect become like unto the advice of *Cato* for the deſtroying of *Carthage*, an appendix to every counſell given in the Senate.

If the Cauſe of Religion ſhould be made a publique buſineſſe, then publique wayes and meanes muſt be uſed to advance Proteſtancy, ſo as a matter of Religion ought to be advanced, that is, without partiality and by-reſpects or private ends and affections, by taking Proteſtancy in the true notion thereof, as it ſtands in its principles oppoſite to Popery, and to advance it thus taken; two kindes of meanes ſhould be ſet aworke, the one ſhould ſerve to make knowne unto the world what true Proteſtancy is, the other ſhould ſerve to oppoſe the wayes of Popery, in undermining it; I will name onely the heads of theſe meanes as now they lye in my conception; To make true Proteſtancy known unto the world, thoughts muſt be had, how to make the tenour of their Common Faith, and the Rules of their practiſe in their publike and private profeſſion of the Goſpell, better evident unto the world then hitherto they have been.

For the tenour of their common Faith, it may be evident two wayes; Firſt, if the harmony of Confeſſions be reprinted (for it is wholly out of print) and in ſome things enlarged and compleated. Secondly, if a courſe could be taken to make Scripturall knowledge more common to all in the plaine and evident truths thereof, and leſſe intangled in diſputes, and ſubject to various interpretations amongſt the learned. The firſt may be done by uſing meanes to make the literall ſenſe of the Text and the cleare doctrins thereof, plaine for the vulgar uſe, and fit for the ordinary reading of all men, by the printing of Bibles with Notes, and briefe Explications, wherein all Proteſtants ſhould agree and conſent of the meaning of the Text. The ſecond may be done by ſome common Rules and Methods of Interpretation of places doubtfull, whereupon the godly learned could be moved to agree amongſt themſelves, that by common principles in the Analogie of Faith, and by a way of Analyſing the Text, and drawing conſequences therefrom (which ſhould be agreed upon by common conſent of the Learned) they might be able to avoid private interpretations and di-

 ſputable

may judge of it, and ſubmit it as you ſhall thinke fit to be judged of by others, that are wellwillers to the Cauſe; It is then briefly this.

Firſt, I thinke it neceſſary that both his Majeſty and the Prince Elector be made ſenſible of the dangerous conſequence of the Papall plot againſt Proteſtancy.

Then the Prince Elector ſhould be dealt withall ſeriouſly by ſome grave, wiſe and godly man, to make him lay to heart the great honour that God doth to him and to his Family in calling him to ſuffer for his Cauſe, and to beare the reproaches of them that reproach the truth of Chriſtianity, and the hatred of thoſe that hate the Goſpell of Chriſt, which they perſecute in his perſon. To know truly what an honour this is, would be a great ſtrengthening of his ſpirit; and then to know alſo how he ought to behave himſelfe in all his wayes towards God in bearing up this Cauſe, how that he ought not to ſeeke himſelfe in it, but ſhould make the upholding of Proteſtancy, and not the regaining of his Lands and Titles, his true inward ayme, and conſequently to doe all in ſubordination to God, and not by humane wiſdome and policy, &c. If this could be truly (as I am perſwaded he is very capable of) wrought upon him, then I would not deſpaire of a bleſſing upon that which he may take in hand; He being thus wrought upon to make God his counſell and ſtrength in all things to manage faithfully his Cauſe; could have ſome other Counſellors adjoyned to him, beſides thoſe which he now hath: Men of exemplary and entire lives, men that ſhould ſtrengthen him in the true ayme of his Cauſe, to keepe it unmoveable in his heart; men that are verſed in publique Treaties about the cauſe, and experienced in State affaires, chiefely in the Germane Princes Courts; ſuch a one is *N. N.* without whoſe judgement and experience, I conceive his buſineſſe can hardly be well contrived in reſpect of Germany, and I could wiſh that he were maintained to be perpetually about him, for he is a very religious and knowing man, and of ſingular uſe in this worke, for the contrivance of the counſels therof toward forraine States; and beſides him, one or two States men more could be named. But I leave this and will come to the undertaking of the Worke; not of the outward military ſupply which may be ſent for him, but of the ſpirituall part of the worke which ſhould tend to uphold Proteſtancy againſt Popery, not onely in Germany, but every where elſe: I conceive then that ſuch as undertake to reſtore the Houſe Palatine in Germany, ſhould make the quarrell not in preterence, but in truth (as indeed it is) a matter of Religion, and ſo ſhould reſolve to

handle

handle the Cauſe in a religious way, as well as by force. The cauſe then of maintaining the Religion and Liberties of Proteſtants in *Germany*, ought to be made a publique buſineſſe; and in all Treaties with forraine States, and deliberations about forraine Affaires, it ought to come into conſideration; and all Ambaſſadours towards other Proteſtants, ſhould be inſtructed to deale with them for a concurrence in it, and in effect become like unto the advice of *Cato* for the deſtroying of *Carthage*, an appendix to every counſell given in the Senate.

If the Cauſe of Religion ſhould be made a publique buſineſſe, then publique wayes and meanes muſt be uſed to advance Proteſtancy, ſo as a matter of Religion ought to be advanced, that is, without partiality and by-reſpects or private ends and affections, by taking Proteſtancy in the true notion thereof, as it ſtands in its principles oppoſite to Popery, and to advance it thus taken; two kinder of meanes ſhould be ſet aworke, the one ſhould ſerve to make knowne unto the world what true Proteſtancy is, the other ſhould ſerve to oppoſe the wayes of Popery, in undermining it; I will name onely the heads of theſe meanes as now they lye in my conception; To make true Proteſtancy known unto the world, thoughts muſt be had, how to make the tenour of their Common Faith, and the Rules of their practiſe in their publike and private profeſſion of the Goſpell, better evident unto the world then hitherto they have been.

For the tenour of their common Faith, it may be evident two wayes; Firſt, if the harmony of Confeſſions be reprinted (for it is wholly out of print) and in ſome things enlarged and compleated. Secondly, if a courſe could be taken to make Scripturall knowledge more common to all in the plaine and evident truths thereof, and leſſe intangled in diſputes, and ſubject to various interpretations amongſt the learned. The firſt may be done by uſing meanes to make the literall ſenſe of the Text and the cleare doctrins thereof, plaine for the vulgar uſe, and fit for the ordinary reading of all men, by the printing of Bibles with Notes, and briefe Explications, wherein all Proteſtants ſhould agree and conſent of the meaning of the Text. The ſecond may be done by ſome common Rules and Methods of Interpretation of places doubtfull, whereupon the godly learned could be moved to agree amongſt themſelves, that by common principles in the Analogie of Faith, and by a way of Analyſing the Text, and drawing conſequences therefrom (which ſhould be agreed upon by common conſent of the Learned) they might be able to avoid private interpretations and di-

putable doubts in Doctrine, which obscure much the faith, and trouble the weak professors, and keep off doubting Papists from being fully convicted.

This would be a Means if it could be had, to inlarge very much the knowledge of the Truth, and to confirm it without danger of divisions; it would also be a ground of reconciling different opinions, without all danger of betraying Truth, or suppressing it, which is a thing so much feared in the work of peace Ecclesiasticall. Concerning the rules of Protestants common practice, in their publique and private walking according to the Gospel, they ought to be set forth as much to advance themselves in the Reformation of their religious walking, as to vindicate the credit of their profession against malicious aspersions. Here then Means should be thought upon, how the Rules of their Publique Worship, in their Ecclesiasticall meetings, to hear the Word, to put forth prayers and praises to God, and to partake of the holy Sacraments one with another, should be framed so as to take away the offences which arise amongst themselves by reason of diversity in these practises, and by conforming their actions herein unto that which is expressed and prescribed in the Word, that they may shew themselves true unto their own principles, wherein they maintain against Popery, that Gods Worship should be truly spirituall according to his will, and not clogged and mixed with humane inventions. And to bring this to passe, all their Ecclesiasticall Constitutions should be compared one with another, and their fundamentall agreement amongst themselves, and with the expresse Rules in the Word, should be taken and distinguished from the Circumstantiall matters, wherein the free and indifferent custome of Nations, not unlawfull to be used, make them differ one from another. This their agreement in substantiall, and difference in diaphorall practises, wherein every Church hath its own liberty, might be published, as the Harmony of Rules in publike Worship observed by Protestants in conformity to Gods Ordinances, and what is over-plus as a clogge and mixture of humane institution in some Churches, means should be thought upon how that might by little and little, be antiquated and left off. And to effect this, if some publike Treaties, and Synodicall meeting could be brought about in due time amongst them, it would be a great settlement unto themselves in the wayes of Truth, and a speciall means to propagate it unto others.

As for the rules of their private walking, they should be set forth and described, in respect of common Family duties, and in respect of the severall

verall Callings and Charges belonging to all theſe, that are Members of the Church and Common-wealth. Here then ſhould be a ſubſtantiall deſcription of the right ordering of Chriſtian Families, to make it apparent how Proteſtants, ſome do ſtudy, and all ſhould ſtudy to walk before God in their private houſhold ſocieties. And in like manner other materiall deſcriptions of the ſeverall duties of Eccleſiaſticall and Civill charges, how they are, or ought to be diſcharged conſcionably in the preſence of God, ſhould be put forth, to informe all of the integrity of their waies and intentions. Here then the duties belonging to the Paſtorall Charge, and to the Doctorall Charge, and to the Helpers in the one and other Charge, ſuch as are Elders and Deacons in the Church; and School-maſters for the education of youths, ſhould be laid open. Alſo the Charge of the Magiſtrate as he is Governour and Judge of the people; and the duty of the Subject as he is under Superiour powers; The Charge of a Husband and Wife; The Charge of Parents and Children, and of Maſters and Servants, ſhould all be diſtinctly deſcribed and publiſhed in ſeverall brieſe Treaties, and made common to all, that both Proteſtants might ſee what they ſhould do according to their own principles of profeſſion, and others might be informed of their walking, who traduce them for licenciouſneſſe, and blame their Religion, as if it were the high way to diſſolve all Government, and to caſt men looſe unto all manner of rebellion and diſſolution.

Such Treaties as theſe being briefly yet fully and ſubſtantially penned, and then reviſed and approved by ſome Synods and Vniverſities, would be of great uſe to make all Proteſtants be of one minde in their profeſſion of Chriſtianity before the world, and free them from many odious impreſſions which evill Statiſts and Emiſſaries of the Pope beget in the minds of Princes againſt them, whereby more hurt is done then we are aware of. Therefore to elaborate theſe tasks, Men ſhould be ſet apart, and being fitted for the common uſe of all men, they ſhould be printed and diſperſed in ſeverall Languages to be ſeen by all; and the Charges of Tranſlation and Printing ſhould be born by thoſe that undertake the *Palatine* Cauſe; and his Counſellors for the good of this Cauſe, ſhould ſet their minds awork how to bring theſe things to paſſe. For herein doth their ſtrength conſiſt, againſt which all the power and plots of the Enemies of Proteſtancy will never be able to prevail. For ſuppoſe they ſhould effect what they intend, in calling a Councell in *Germany* by the Emperours authority, to rectifie ſome generall grievances; if Proteſtants have theſe Declarations and evidences to make the

tenor of their common Faith and Practiſe appear in a readineſſe, to offer it to be judged by that Councell, what will their plot be able to effect? Will they not be taken in their own device, and made inſtruments of confirming that Profeſſion which they intend to overthrow? I know not what you will think of the poſſibility to effect all this, but I am ſure you cannot deny but that all this may be done, and that without great difficulty, or great delay, if the Proteſtant Cauſe were taken to heart as it ought to be; and if ſome few Inſtruments were ſet apart to elaborate ſuch tasks as theſe. But alas theſe things are not at all minded, nor can they gain any favour, or countenance at any bodies hand, who is in place of Eminency, except they can make a particular uſe of the undertaking to ſubordinate the ſame unto ſome private aims of their own. Hence it is that the ſolicitors of ſuch Works are lookt upon aloof, and ſuſpected as dangerous Men by all ſides, or laught at in ſecret as men of odde and ſingular conceits, that fancy unto themſelves Caſtles in the air, and impoſſible undertakings. Verily I confeſſe the undertakings are impoſſible, not *per ſe*, but *per accidens*, by reaſon of the ſtupidity of mens ſpirits in matters of a publike nature, and by reaſon of their great partiality which doth blinde them in all other things, not ſerving to their private ends and wayes. Nor do moſt men that I meet withall, minde any thing but what is immediately of uſe for their own preſent turns; and becauſe my thoughts cannot run that way, I am become like a ſparrow on the houſe top, and as an Owle among the reſt of the Birds of the Foreſt. For all this while I have been knocking at a deaf mans door, intending to put men in minde of theſe things, and ſeeking help to bring them to paſſe, I have ſpent my time and ſtrength in vain. Now then I have diſcharged my conſcience, and will ſet my mind at reſt from henceforth; and this I count to be the fruit of my labours. This is the firſt kind of means ſerving to eſtabliſh, to perfect, and to make known what true Proteſtancy is in the world.

The ſecond kind of Means doth ſerve to oppoſe Popery in that wherein it doth ſtudy to divide and undermine the State of Proteſtants. To this effect Means ſhould be thought upon, how to go croſſe unto them in their proceedings againſt us. They labour and plot how to divide us amongſt our ſelves, and to feed our diſputes in Religion and jealouſies of States, and to bring every where ſome evill intelligence betwixt Rulers and Subjects, and to make us of Great *Britain* to neglect all the thoughts of our Brethren which may tend to their comfort: ſhould not we then labour and plot to bring the quite contrary effects to paſſe, namely,

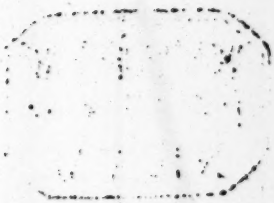
namely, how to reconcile matters of diſputes in Religion, and to take away jealouſies of States, and to bring good intelligences betwixt Rulers and Subjects and to make us here in Great *Britain* to think upon the State of our Brethren who ſuffer in, and for the ſame Faith which we profeſſe? They have a Synagogue of Satan to tempt the Proteſtants to defection, from whence they ſend forth ſwarms of Emiſſaries, as they call it, *ad propagandam fidem*; but it is to creep into all Courts and Families to corrupt mens minds, and to execute all miſchievous deſigns againſt us; and we are ſo dull as to intend nothing, either for our own preſervation or againſt them. Nor is the way thought upon, or inquired after, how that any ſuch purpoſe might be effected. This then the undertakers of the *Palatine* Cauſe ſhould lay to heart, and ſeriouſly mind as a Fundamentall Maxime of their State: That the Cauſes of diviſions amongſt Proteſtant Churches and States muſt be remedied by ſome effectuall Negotiation, whereof the preparatives being already made to their hand, rather by a Providence of God, then by any mans inſtigation and encouragement, they will be the leſſe excuſable if they make not uſe of the ſame by taking notice of the Means which may be ſhewed unto them, whereof I will not now ſpeak at large, only in a word let me refer you unto the ſummary diſcourſe concerning the work of Peace Eccleſiaſticall, how it may concur with the aim of a Civill Confederation among Proteſtants, which is in print, & was ſent unto you 6 or 7 weeks ago. But if no ſuch publike Negotiation can be as yet intended, then a more private, and yet no leſſe effectuall way might be uſed, by ſetting afoot a Theologicall Correſpondency with Divines already ingaged in the Work of Reconcilement. The maner and Method of entertaining this Correſpondency, and the Vſefulneſſe of it might eaſily be ſhewed, if there were any hope or appearance of obtaining any countenance, Patronage, or maintenance in undergoing it; for much muſt be done in it by printed Letters and Tracts, which ſhould at once be made to flie abroad to all places convenient, and yet not become common to every one promiſcuouſly till matters ſhould be ſufficiently ripened in the minds of Leading men on all ſides, who in due time ſhould be able to ſway others unto good Reſolutions: And although in this publique Cauſe of maintaining Proteſtancy, nothing elſe ſhould be done, but to keep afoot the Correſpondency which is begun already, that the thoughts of thoſe that are everywhere raiſed, and ſet upon theſe Conſultations, may be more and more confirmed and ripened; yet this alone if it be effectually proſecuted may be able by the grace of God to countermine

termine the Papall plot heretofore mentioned: Therefore whatsoever else may be intended, if my counsell may be heard, I would not have this omitted nor delayed, but His Majesty should be moved to settle some donatives, and set them apart to maintain the Charges of this correspondency. Many things of this nature will be in his Majesties disposing, if those that are found guilty be punished and deprived of the gifts and priviledges which they injoyed without doing service to the publique therein.

Thus you see my desire, and the care that doth trouble my minde about this businesse. Having thus discharged the burden of my thoughts upon your wisdome and discretion; I finde my spirit at rest, because I make no doubt but God will addresse you to make some use of them, where they may be most profitable to the good of the cause of Religion; and I shall not fail to joyn my daily prayers with you and your endeavours, that they may not be unfruitfull in this matter. Thus I commend you to the Grace of God, and rest,

London, Octob. 4. Anno 1641.

Your faithfull friend and servant in Christ.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

FINIS.